BUILDING ZION: FOLK ARCHITECTURE IN THE MORMON SETTLEMENTS OF UTAH'S SANPETE VALLEY, 1849-1890

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Abstract

During recent years, a number of studies have shown that American frontier regions may be characterized by diversity in their early domestic architecture as immigrant building practices persist through the initial settlement period. Only after several generations of adapting old forms and adopting new ones does a regional architecture based upon a small number of shared house types emerge. The Mormon-settled Far West, however, has traditionally been set apart from this pattern of gradual regionalization; Mormon communitarian values, the planned nature of their communities, and an overriding emphasis on social order are seen to have caused a rapid convergence of architectural practices and the immediate creation of a uniform, "Mormon" building style. It is the contention of this study that the perceived uniformity in nineteenth century Mormon architecture has been the result of a pro forma validation of a prevailing form of historical explanation rather than the serious study of the buildings themselves. The purpose of this work has been to conduct the first systematic field investigation of early Mormon folk architecture and, in so doing, to test empirically the hypothesis of Mormon cultural homogeneity.

The work was conducted in the Sanpete Valley of central Utah. This area contained the number of nineteenth century houses that would allow generalization yet was of a size that could be studied comprehensively. The results of the investigation of over 800 buildings reveal that folk

housing in the Sanpete Valley in the years between 1849-1890 exhibited a diversity of immigrant building forms and techniques that remains consistent with that found in other American frontier areas. While it has been convenient to view the social world of nineteenth century Mormonism as a cultural monolith, the findings of this study contribute to a growing body of revisionist historiography that suggests that Mormon society must be considered from a multi-cultural perspective and that a new emphasis must be placed upon sources of community strength and cohesion that lie beyond simplistic theories of cultural convergence and theocratic oppression.

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Chapter I

Introduction: A Framework for Historical Inquiry

Aim and Importance of the Study

The folk architecture of the Mormon West has attracted the attention of a wide variety of scholars from an early date. This interest has generally centered around determining the specifically Mormon nature of this architecture. Few researchers questioned the uniqueness of the culture itself since its theocratic government, its collective economic and social program, and its well-publicized experiments in reordering family relations all appeared to set the Mormon movement apart from the mainstream of nineteenth century American life. But to what extent, they asked, thinking of the Shakers, Rappites, Moravians and other nineteenth century millenarian groups for whom buildings played a significant role in shaping a collective social identity, could it be said that Mormonism produced or inspired a distinctive domestic building tradition? Order, orthodoxy, obedience--such traits are considered intrinsic to the early Mormon character. Should not they likewise be evident in the material folk culture of Mormonism? These questions have dominated the study of Latter-day Saint western architecture over the years and have served to tie this investigation to a larger scholarship devoted to the Mormon town, the nucleated farm community which served as the vehicle for the Mormon occupation of the Great Basin after 1847.

Reflecting the collective nature of nineteenth century utopian

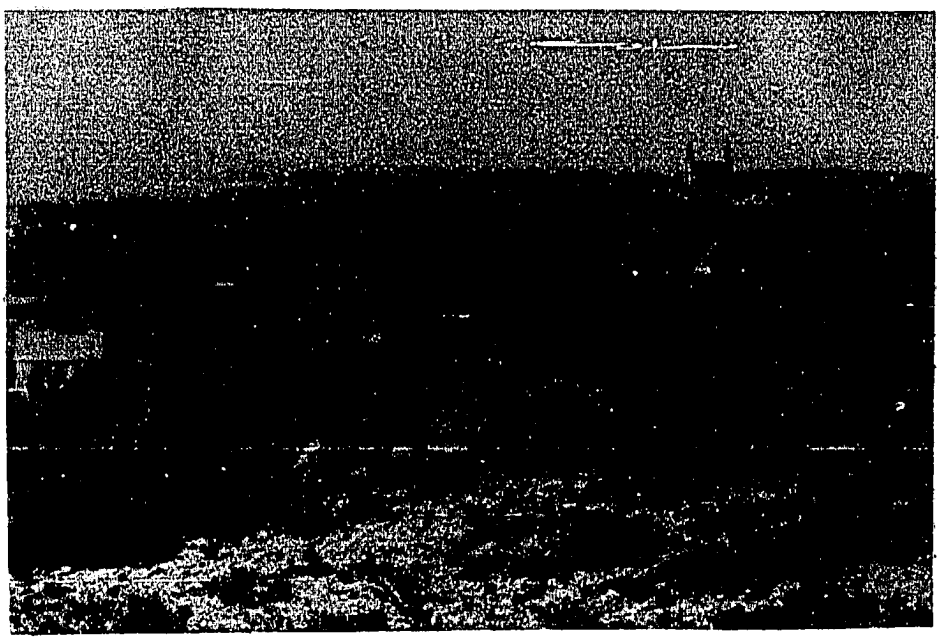


Figure 1: Manti, view looking north, c.1900

thinking, the Mormon town was a residential community in which family homesteads were located within the boundaries of the town rather than scattered out on the surrounding farmland (Figure 1). This intensive type of settlement differed sharply from the typically extensive American pattern of isolated family farms,[1] a contrast that did not go unnoticed by students of American settlement. The first study to look specifically at the structure of the Latter-day Saint agricultural community was Lowry Nelson's The Mormon Village.[2] A sociologist, Nelson recognized that the "manner in which rural people arrange their habitations upon the land constitutes one of the important factors determining the nature of social organization" and further concluded

that close residential proximity reinforced the integrative and collective nature of Mormon society.[3] In drawing a specific connection between settlement form and social structure, Nelson's work set an interpretative precedent for much of the subsequent research dealing with nineteenth century life in Utah. The Mormons were understood to be a different sort of American: they were unified rather individualized, they placed cooperation before competition, they elevated group interests over their separate ambitions, and they found moral standards to thwart worldly desire.[4] Such beliefs and values were undoubtedly instilled in the faithful from the pulpit, but they were also very much a product of Mormon community life itself.

Village town plats were recorded for all LDS eastern cities, but it was in the West during the second half of the nineteenth century that the agricultural town surfaced as the cornerstone of Mormon settlement policy.[5] As a colonizing device, the town functioned centripetally to hold a large and diverse convert population together over the vast expanses of the Great Basin. It offered sanctuary from both known and unknown dangers of the wilderness and mitigated the isolation and loneliness often associated with pioneering. It also controlled social behavior by making church institutions readily accessible to members and by providing the ever-constant vigil of neighbors and authorities that served as a built-in hedge against backsliding and apostasy. Exoterically the town worked to set the Mormons apart from outsiders; esoterically it worked to make the insiders like each other. It was, in short, an effective mechanism of cultural convergence.[6] As the Mormons moved into the Great Basin country, a vigorous proselytizing campaign throughout the eastern United States and northern Europe

insured that the group would become increasingly culturally heterogeneous. Yet, such dissimilar cultural elements would become more and more similar through the unifying effects of town life, the matrix, as the historian Dean May has pointed out, from which came "a party of Saints for building up the Kingdom of God."[7]

As perhaps the most visible symbol of nineteenth century Mormon society, the town has emerged as a major interpretative device in the study of Mormon history and acts as an intervening filter through which the experience of the past is conceptually ordered.[8] Moreover, in LDS studies, the town as a form for historical explanation may be expressed as a practical syllogysm: If the Mormon settlement form, the nucleated town, was collective, orderly, and uniform, and if early Mormon culture was the product of this settlement form, therefore, the culture itself must have been collective, orderly, and uniform. In addition, as a tenacious and highly visible aspect of individual cultural expression, house form has repeatedly been called upon to substantiate the town paradigm by serving as an index of cultural convergence in nineteenth century Utah.

Recent research shows that frontier areas slowly develop regional architectures based upon a limited number of shared building types and that a pattern of convergence in housing emerges only after several generations of adapting old forms and adopting new ones. The degree of architectural diversity in a frontier community is, as a result, generally a factor of the cultural diversity of the immigrants themselves.[9] In the multi-cultural society which was early Utah, a heterogeneous building tradition would therefore be expected, especially since no offical design policies existed and church members were

admonished merely to build substantial and attractive dwellings.[10] It follows that an ability to demonstrate uniformity in the housing practices of the Mormon pioneering generation would indicate, first, that the process of gradual architectural regionalization found in other American frontiers was conspicuously absent in Mormon Utah--reaffirming the centripetal nature of the Mormon frontier, and second, that this regional architectural tradition surfaced, not through prescriptive church practices, but as a response to conforming social pressures within the culture itself--validating the integrating capabilites of the town. Not surprisingly then, folk architectural research among the Latter-day Saints has, from the beginning, been directed toward testing housing uniformity.

The first substantive treatment of Mormon folk building surfaced in the 1940s as part of J.E. Spencer's larger study of settlement practices in southern Utah's Virgin River Valley.[11] Spencer noted that little variation existed in house types or building materials in the Virgin communities--the predominant forms were one-and two-room cottages built of the local adobe brick. This simple, repetitive building style was, for Spencer, initially the result of a reduction in housing possibilities effected under primitive froncier conditions. Once in place, however, these utilitarian house forms were perpetuated both by a desire among later immigrants to follow established pioneer practices and, perhaps more importantly, by the fact that "new settlers from the eastern United States and northwestern Europe had cooperative village aid in building their new homes, so that the evolution and perpetuation of the adobe types were natural results of the Mormon way of life."[12] Spencer's paper did not itself attract a great deal of scholarly

attention but its central idea, that Mormon towns appeared similar on the outside while remaining uniform on the inside, became a recurring theme in Mormon architectural studies.

Following D.W. Meinig's now-classic essay identifying and defining the Mormon culture region in the Far West (Figure 2),[13] studies utilizing material culture generally and architecture specifically as a means for testing the boundaries and cohesiveness of this region greatly increased. A culture region, it was understood, acquired its identity both as it differed from neighboring regions and as it possessed a degree of internal homogeneity.[14] Confident that the village settlement system itself effectively set Mormons apart from their western neighbors, researchers turned their attention inward, toward demonstrating cultural uniformity not only within the Mormon town, but within the far-ranging western Mormon Empire as well. The first of these new regional studies was provided by the geographer Richard Francaviglia.

In a 1970 dissertation entitled "The Mormon Landscape," Francaviglia identified a range of visual features including houses that displayed a degree of uniformity both in their spatial distribution and formal character.[15] The presence of specific material culture traits such as the grid-iron town plat, barns, granaries, orchards, and gardens in town, and solid masonry houses in all Mormon communities could be explained by the fact that they were contained in the Mormon prophet Joseph Smith's original plan for the City of Zion.[16] The diffusion of such traits therefore was directly a factor of the ability of later church leaders to implement the spirit of Zion's city plan in the Great Basin West. Uniformity in house form itself, however, was never

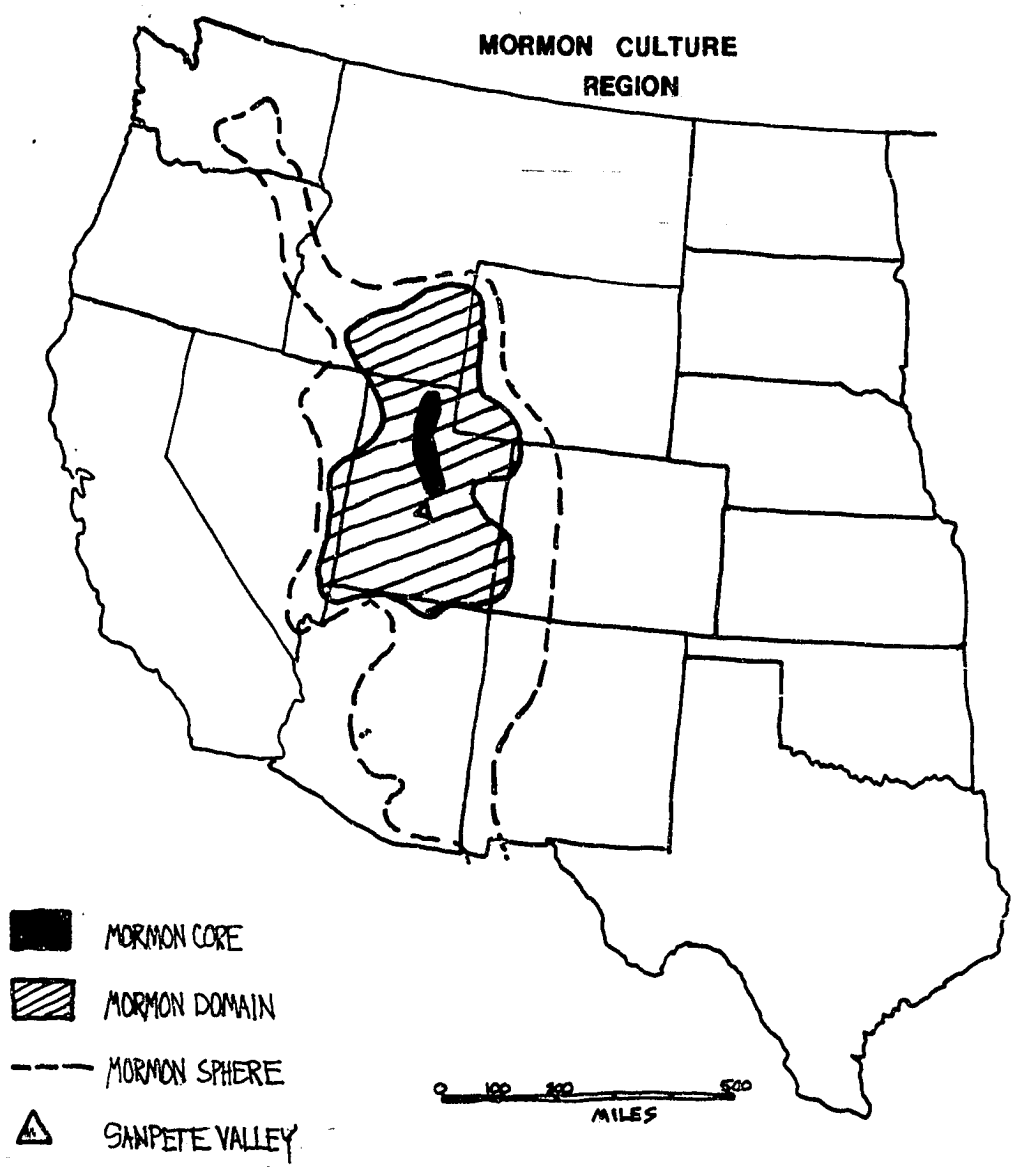


Figure 2: The Mormon Culture Region (After Meinig and Gurgel). Core: center of Mormon cultural density and continuity; Domain: Mormon culture dominant but not exclusive; Sphere: Mormon cultural influence continues but is no longer dominant.[17]

precisely articulated and this feature of the landscape Francaviglia attributed to a conscious decision on the part of Mormons to avoid the fashions of the "world." Relying upon a narrow set of architectural ideas reflecting Mormon eastern experience and employed in Utah after they had passed from currency in other sections of the country, the Latter-day Saints achieved a distinctive building style largely by hanging on to older, folk forms no longer found in non-Mormon, or "Gentile," communities. Francaviglia found Mormon housing unique in its remarkable conservativism.[18]

The question of convergence in Mormon folk architecture was also addressed by Leon Pitman in a geography dissertation at Louisiana State University.[19] After a wide-ranging survey of housing patterns within the Mormon culture region, Pitman found that the house types he encountered were not in and of themselves peculiar to Mormons--all had antecedents in the eastern United States--but became distinctively Mormon through the repetition of a few simple designs. Remembering the diversity of the incoming population and therefore the potential for individual variation, Pitman found "that elements of house form or shape became similar throughout the culture region, indicating that an assimilation process occurred in folk housing concepts and that a common material folk trait complex emerged."[20] What were the processes fostering uniformity in housing design? Pitman noted three: First, there was a reduction of architectural possibilties on the frontier, second, the mobility of the Mormon population spread architectural ideas quickly throughout the culture region; and, third, a "willingness and ability on the part of the Mormons to assimilate into an accepted mold, regardless of their diverse cultural origins."[21] "Mormon culture,"

Pitman concluded, "as a highly cohesive agrarian theocracy, epitomized unity and conformity to religious principles as well as civic and social mores, customs, and values. Moreover, the relative isolation of Mormondom offered its members a measure of independence and freedom in which to consolidate their institutions and further heighten conformity."[22] Pitman's study has become the standard interpretation of early Utah architecture and later studies to date have largely been restatements of his ideas.[23]

While differing in their methods and specific areas of research, these studies of Mormon folk building practices are unified by a common theoretical perspective, namely, they accept as a point of departure the concept of cultural convergence and homogeneity among Mormons. The nucleated town--the place where Saints were made--becomes a device for giving meaning to other aspects of life in nineteenth century Utah. Working from the premise that an orderly community will engender a similarly structured society, architectural studies among Mormons have been an exercise in "puzzle solving"--research conducted with the understanding that the answers will be known but constantly refined.[24] At its best, this type of study may lend depth and substance to new and expanding fields of inquiry. If, however, the basic hypotheses in question are faulty or untested, such an approach may support and cultivate falsehood and myth. In the study of Mormon architecture the latter is true, for here strong prevailing ideas about a people have been used to explain their buildings rather than letting the study of their buildings tell us about those people. Framed within the context of the Mormon community, house form is viewed as but one element contributing to a unified, collective whole. Homogeneity has

been taken for granted and it has not been difficult to assemble the data--architectural or otherwise--which will support this assumption.

A more complete and thoughtful understanding of Mormon architecture and, by extension, other aspects of life in early Utah, must begin, not by assembling examples to support what is already felt to be true about Mormon society, but rather, with an detailed analysis of the buildings themselves. The aim of this study, then, is to provide what must be considered the first systematic study of Mormon nineteenth century domestic folk architecture, a subject that has in the past received much attention but little substantive research. Furthermore, it is the contention of this study that the folk architectural uniformity so much in evidence in the existing literature was in fact not a material reality in early Utah. A detailed field analysis of Mormon buildings reveals, rather, that a more typical frontier pattern of architectural diversity was in fact present during the pioneering period in Utah, with immigrants often building houses and barns which recalled the traditions of their previous homelands rather than those they encountered in Zion.

By accepting the actuality of both the order of the town and the diversity of its domestic architecture, the Mormon landscape becomes more puzzling; it also becomes more interesting. On one hand, we can see in the town the values which we have come to expect in Mormonism--order, cooperation, self-denial; on the other, the houses reveal a degree of disorder, individualism, and personal ambition seldom recognized in Mormon culture. This paradox--we might call it a conflict between the Puritan and Yankee sides of the Mormon character--has been previously acknowledged,[25] yet its implications for how we think and write about the Mormon past have not been fully realized. It is not

enough at this point merely to attack the myth of Mormon cultural homogeneity--common sense would be enough to take us this far.[26] Other, more meaningful questions remain. If Mormonism in the nineteenth century existed, not as a single stream of cultural concensus, but rather, as a set of sophisticated contradictions, how can we explain its nonetheless strong image of cohesion and solidarity? If town life did not make all Saints the same, but in fact, allowed cultural differences to exist, what forces were there that continued to foster a collective sense of social purpose and responsibility? Such questions are raised but not answered by the material record and we must look further into theories of culture and social change for solutions to the problem at hand.

In a study of house form on the Faroe Islands, the Danish enthnologist Bjarne Stoklund outlines what has become a standard explanation for folk architectural diversity:

> In many ways the house is a reflection of the society around it. Where we find a very homogeneous building tradition and interior design, we can with some certainty conclude that there is a high degree of cultural integration, a harmony regarding the goals, norms and values of life. In such well-integrated societies there would be a tendency to choose from among several possible solutions to the construction of a building, for example, only one, or--where several building methods were employed--to set forth precise rules for which houses were to be constructed in which way. In other societies, such as old peasant societies in the process of breaking up or urban settlements just being established, the norms for the correct building method or the correct design will often be much more lax.[27]

One must ask, where does Mormon society fit into Stoklund's dichotomy? It has been convenient, obligatory even, to view Mormon society as an established entity with a fixed set of cultural values perpetuated by an efficient set of social norms. In such a place we would expect to find, as Stoklund indicates, a homogeneous building tradition. If, however,

field investigation shows that a uniformity in folk housing is not present, we must consider as a real possibility that either consciously or unconsciously the rules for correct social behavior were "more lax." Why such laxness? Was it because Mormon frontier society was, like other frontier societies, "just being established" and therefore lacking the tight-knit social fabric capable of creating an architectural norm? As a new religion, Mormonism was indeed a new social world coming into being,[28] and such an explanation would be attractive if it were not for what we already know about the Mormon town, a social structure that can be called anything but disorganized. How then can the order of the town and the disorder of its architecture be reconciled? The answer to this question lies outside Stoklund's polarized construct.

Sociologists have shown that while social order will usually generate cultural uniformity, in particular instances such order will itself allow a degree of diversity and conflict. Conversely, social disintegration and dysfunction may lead to disorder and chaos, but it can also make the outward display of order all the more imperative--a pretense, as it were, of community in the absence of a deeper sense of social integration.[29] In Folk Housing in Middle Viriginia, Henry Glassie presents such an alternative view of architectural thinking. Glassie's research indicated that as the Virginians' world collapsed under the weight of the political and economic turmoil of the late eighteenth century, their architecture became more and more the same. Here, social crisis demanded a facade of cultural solidarity.[30] If we can accept the idea that architectural diversity is not inherently a product of social instability and that it can indeed serve as both a sign and source of strength and continuity, then the dichotomy of the

Mormon landscape becomes more explainable. If we turn the "order produces order" thesis around to become "order condones [a degree of] disorder," then we have made a meaningful step toward a better understanding of nineteenth century life in Mormon Utah. During the Kingdom Building phase of Mormon western settlement (roughly the years between 1847-1890), the social world of Mormonism was firmly anchored in the church and its institutions. This rigid structure gave the Saints not only a sense of stability and order, but also a type of corporate identity. As long as the group maintained a degree of physical isolation and the cultural boundaries separating Mormons from non-Mormons existed outside the Kingdom, oneness within the community could be largely expressed in corporate terms--in the town settlement form and in the building of temples--rather than in housing uniformity.

This study is an attempt to explain how and why diversity of folk architectural design occurred in nineteenth century Utah, but in doing so, it becomes a vehicle for uncovering something of the complex social structure which was Zion. In spirit, I have followed Dean May's keen observation that "in detailed studies of life in Mormon villages of the past one has a rare opportunity to discern and analyze the processes that contributed to the building and perpetuation of a distinctive subculture."[31] The opportunity is there, but only if we recognize the town's inherent power to influence the direction and outcome of such inquiry. To study town life we must ignore the town as an explanation form and look instead for actual evidence of that life. Domestic architecture, as an observable product of real human action, offers perhaps the best chance for success in such an endeavor.

One of the recurring problems in studying such things as Mormon

buildings has been the size of the Mormon region itself. Researchers bent on establishing uniformity within the Mormon West have felt compelled to study all of it--from Idaho to Arizona--and consequently no one area has been studied completely or well. My own interest has been in taking an opposite approach. I have chosen here to study one small part of the Mormon region both systematically and comprehensively. For this work I picked the Sanpete Valley in central Utah.

Located some 100 miles south of Salt Lake City (Figure 3), the Sanpete Valley provided an excellent research area for several reasons: First, since my basic goal was to study Mormon town life and its effects on the behavior of individual Saints, it was necessary to locate a place to work that provided an opportunity to view this relationship in both detail and depth. The Sanpete Valley consists of ten nucleated towns, a number which could be studied completely yet at the same time could provide a quantity of data which would allow generalization. Second, to make the project viable, I needed a sizeable number of early houses to study. The Sanpete Valley was one of the first colonies founded outside the Great Salt Lake Valley and its early occupation and subsequent isolation provided a large number of well preserved dwellings dating from the 1850-1880 frontier period. Third, in order to test the concept of cultural convergence, I needed an area which displayed the diversity which characterized the Mormon convert population in general. Because the Sanpete Valley was settled by immigrant Saints from all parts of the eastern United States, Canada, the British Isles, and Scandinavia, it gave me the chance to follow the paths of many streams of architectural tradition and to see how each responded to the conforming powers of town life.

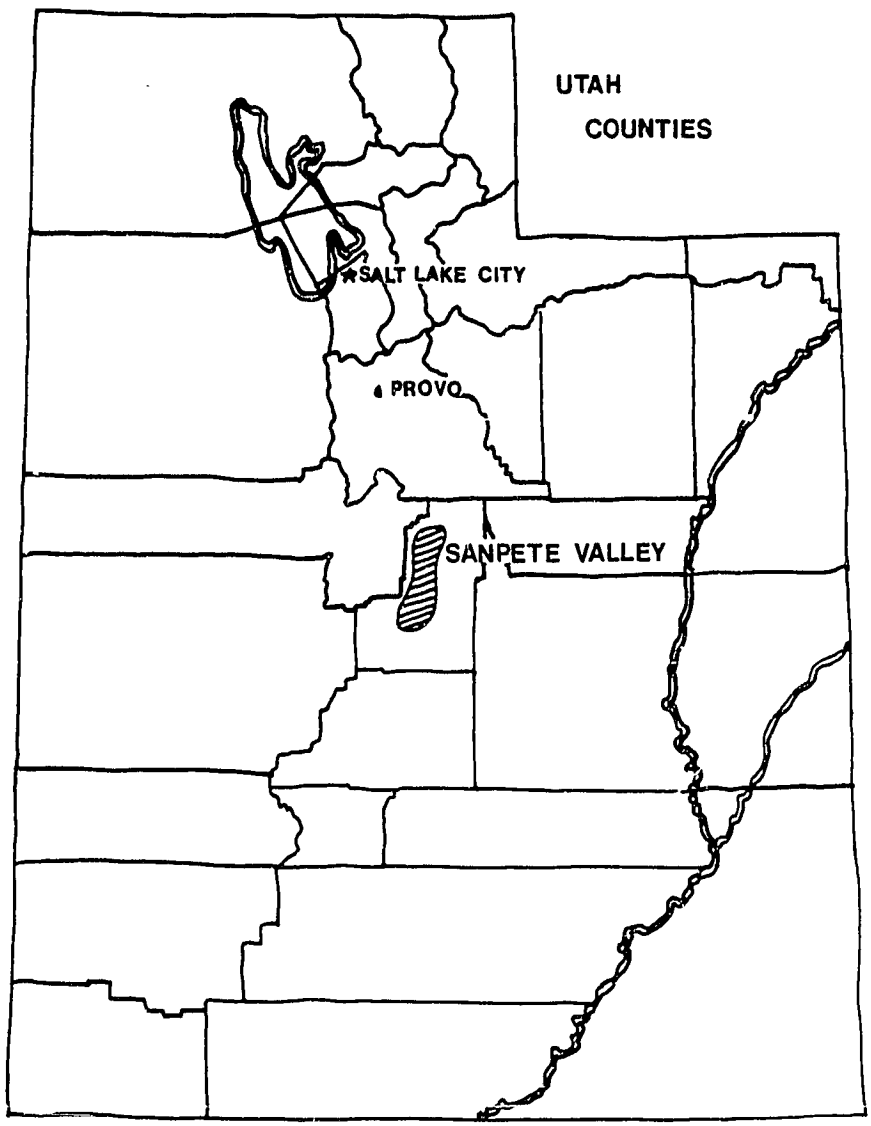


Figure 3: Utah Counties and the Sanpete Valley.

While the conclusions reached here can hold only for the Sanpete Valley itself, at this particular point in the study of nineteenth century Mormonism, this is enough to expect from such a project. Mormon culture has continually been studied as a whole, with the result that differences and incongruities have been consistently denied or ignored. Even when local studies have been undertaken, it has been thought necessary to apply their conclusions to the culture as a whole.[32] It is therefore important and perhaps even essential that this be considered a local study--we should not expect that what happened in the Sanpete Valley should have happened in other parts of Mormon Country. Each separate area must be viewed as a response to a particular set of historical, cultural, and environmental circumstances. We can only hope that a detailed study of one local tradition can raise the questions which will spawn other, similiar studies and thereby initiate the painting of a more accurate if nevertheless composite portrait of the whole. We can learn much about Mormon culture by studying town life, but we must not believe that one town or a set of towns can serve as spokesmen for all Mormon towns. Only in this way are we likely to achieve a better comprehension of the processes "that contributed to the building of this distinctive American subculture."

Assumptions of the Study

This study is informed by several basic assumptions concerning the study of material culture and history which, in the interests of making the intent and scope of this inquiry clear from the outset, need further explication.

I have worked here with the general undertanding that artifacts--in this case, houses--may be studied for cultural meaning.[33] Since human behavior is outwardly directed and social, people live, not as autonomous individuals, but as parts of larger groups of interdependent individuals known as societies. A particular society is organized around a set of commonly held needs, beliefs, and values which provide the structures for everyday life and which, for convenience, we call culture. Culture shapes social action and, while it is not itself material, it "embraces those segments of human learning which provide a person with plans, methods, and reasons for producing things which can be seen and touched."[34] Artifacts, then, reflect the patterning of life within a particular society and, in so doing, become an important resource for ideas about human behavior in past time.[35]

A second assumption of this work--a corollary really of the first--has been that the study of history may be approached ethnographically. While artifacts may be considered valid evidence of past human behavior, we must concede that their meaning is not itself manifest. The facts of history, whether they be houses, diaries, or census records, do not speak for themselves, they speak only through those that would gather and arrange them into patterns of explanation.[36] As much as possible, the historian's patterns must be constructed emically, that is, from the perspective of those being studied themselves and not imposed from the outside. "Ways must be found," the historian Rhys Issac reminds us, "of attaining an understanding of the meanings that the inhabitants of other worlds [worlds separated both spatially and temporally from our own] have given to their own everyday customs."[37]

The best chance for achieving such an inside perspective is through direct observation--through ethnography. Ethnographers describe culture with the intent, as Roger Abrahams has recently suggested, of showing how "such behavior is endowed with meaning and value."[38] "Ethnographic description," Abrahams continues, "takes into account organic relationships between the inception and outcome of action, relationships that underline the purposes of the activity. Therefore, we assume that a system and a set of regularities underlie the actions."[39] Historians do not have the anthropologist's advantage of seeing firsthand the experience which they are studying, but they can nevertheless sift the evidence that remains of that experience for traces of human action--action patterned by culture. Historians concerned with understanding past behavior must look for signs, again following Rhys Issac, of "people doing things," for "the searching out of the meanings that such actions contained and conveyed for the participant lies at the heart of the enterprise of ethnographic history."[40] One of the main things people of the past did was to build houses.

Definitions

Many of the terms encountered in this work--particularly those connected with buildings and the building process--will not be familiar to the uninitiated reader. I have included most of the relevant definitions within the text, but several key concepts need short, formal introductions.

I have used the term "Mormon" here to denote both the institution

and members of the the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The name Mormon comes from The Book of Mormon, the group's principal body of scripture. During the nineteenth century, the term certainly had pejorative overtones, but today it has gained general acceptance both within and without the society. Alternate terms for the Mormons are also used and include "Latter-day Saints," "LDS," and simply, "Saints." Mormons lump all non-believers under the rubric "Gentile,' a practice which I have followed here.

For the purposes of this work, I have defined "folk architecture" to mean traditional architecture. Folk buildings, that is, are those which have been constructed according to traditional rather than popular or academy derived designs.[41] Tradition itself is defined largely in terms of transmission, the process by which ideas and customs are passed both generationally and interpersonally without the aid of written instruction. At the same time, the traditional process must not be considered static nor the products of tradition immutable. The presence of variation is in fact one of the hallmarks of folk expression--verbal or material.[42] Such variation is not traceable to incompetence or lack of skill, but to the dialectical nature of traditional performance itself--performance which exists as a vigorous dialogue between the conservatism which is tradition and the dynamism that is involved in applying traditional ideas and concepts to new and ever-changing contexts.[43] Folk architecture cannot be viewed superorganically as, for instance, a set of "house types" that are unreflectively carried through time and space by the diffusion of tradition. A folk architecture is constructed around a set of traditional concepts of acceptability and appropriateness that are continually being related and

re-related to specific social situations through performance.

Plan of the Study

The plan of this study follows the general pattern of artifactual analysis itself.[44] The first three chapters are largely introductory but also are intended to deal directly with the initial stage of material culture study, i.e., the gathering of data. Chapter I outlines the problem to be addressed in the study and summarizes the basic fieldwork methods. Chapters II and III provide an historical overview of both Mormonism and the Sanpete Valley and are intended to set forth he specific context for the objects under investigation. The next three chapters move to a second level of investigation, that of analyzing the collected data in terms of space, time, and form and are largely descriptive. Chapter IV attempts to develop a specific set of geometrical ground rules for designing Sanpete Valley houses, while Chapter V reveals the actual houses generated by this designing system. Chapter VI is concerned with describing the techniques which turned abstract concepts into material fact. The last chapter represents the final step in the analytical process, the explanation of the data. What, after all, did these buildings mean for the people who built them and used them? Drawing upon theories of folklore performance and cultural pluralism, Chapter VII attempts to explain this architectural behavior within the larger context of Mormon cultural history.

Fieldwork Methods

This study began during the summer of 1977 when I was asked to prepare a lecture on Mormon folk architecture for the Fife Folklore Conference held annually at Utah State University. As I researched the topic, I could not help being impressed by the strong image of Mormon architectural homogeneity contained in the extant literature, a homogeneity built largely around the acceptance of the "I" house as the principal Mormon building form. The widespread occurrence of the I house during the nineteenth century led me to the question I raised in the Fife lecture: Was a uniformity of folk architectural tradition peculiar to nineteenth century Mormons or did it reflect a more general reduction in folk housing alternatives caused by the nation-wide popularity of the I house? In the talk, I stressed what appeared to be a continuity between Mormon and middle-class Midwestern architecture. This idea became the core of a hypothesis which seemed worth testing in the field by comparing Utah folk housing with a selected area in the Midwest. For this work I looked to Hancock County in Illinois, the place where the Mormons lived before migrating westward to Utah. Was the folk architecture of Hancock County more or less uniform than that found in Utah during the same time period? Problems quickly surfaced. Not only did Hancock County lack the cultural diversity found in post-1850 Utah, aking a comparison between the two a rather useless exercise, but upon closer examination it soon became apparent that the much-heralded uniformity in Mormon housing practices was not based on sound field investigation, but rather, on a series of a priori assumptions and hastily compiled field samplings. Out of necessity the focus of my interest shifted to Utah and to the idea of examining the hypothesis of uniformity itself.

During Christmas vacation in 1977, I traveled from Indiana to Salt Lake City to appraise the available archival resources and to prospect for a likely study area. The holdings of the major institution dealing with Utah architecture, the Preservation Office of the Utah State Historical Society, were meager. The Preservation Office had at that time conducted no intensive local housing surveys and had not pursued the type of intensive field documentation required by my work. The only substantive architectural data available for studying Utah housing consisted of the several dozen measured drawings completed during the 1960s and 1970s by the Historic American Buildings Survey and the small Northern Utah collection of Dr. Austin Fife at Utah State University. It became clear that my work would have to begin from scratch--a comforting thought for it reinforced the need for and importance of such an undertaking.

Not wanting to fall into the trap of biting off more than I could chew, I worked from the beginning with the idea of finding a small, manageable study area which contained architectural resources sufficient for the task at hand. Of the early-settled areas in the state, the Salt Lake and Utah Valleys were quickly dismissed because urbanization had effectively wiped out their nineteenth century residential architecture. Similar though less complete development had occurred in the Davis-Weber area north of Salt Lake City and in the extreme southern area of Washington County thus eliminating these areas from consideration. Several individual towns like Beaver, Scipio, and Paragoonah in south-central Utah and Willard in Box Elder County contained the numbers of early houses I was looking for, yet were too small to serve my needs. This left a choice between the Cache Valley in

Northern Utah and the Sanpete Valley. In the end, the decision to study the Sanpete Valley was made because it was smaller and more isolated than Cache Valley, it was settled earlier and had more houses which appeared to date from the late 1850s and 1860s, and, at least initially, I could do survey work here for the Historical Soceity to help defray the cost of the project. In May of 1978, my wife Ann and I moved to Manti to begin the study. While my initial tenure with the Historical Society proved shortlived, Ann got a teaching position at Snow College in nearby Ephraim that helped support us while the the fieldwork was in progress.

The first step in the study involved completely surveying the original platted sections of each of the valley's ten towns. The towns were designed from grid-iron plans and were divided into equally sized residential blocks. Surveying is always tedious work, but in Mormon Utah it is greatly facilitated by the closeness and accessibility of the houses. Conducted during the summer and fall of 1978, the survey was intended to provide a listing of all standing structures so that informed decisions could later be made about which ones to study further in detail. In all, 3088 buildings were counted of which 836 could be dated to the pre-1890 period. These 836 buildings were organized by height, material, type (drawn from Henry Glassie's Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States), and chimney placement and a 5% random sample of 42 houses was selected for documentation to insure that the study would be representative of the surveyed total. An additional 200 other structures were eventually documented, bringing the total of researched buildings to 242. The complete survey is on file with the Preservation Research Office of the

Utah State Historical Society in Salt Lake City and at the Fife Folklore Archive at Utah State University in Logan.

The documentation stage of the fieldwork was largely accomplished during the spring of 1979, though it continued sporadically until the fall of 1983. Documentation for each of the buildings included mapping the site, measuring the floorplan (ground floor only), photographing the principal elevations, dating the building, and researching the background of the original owners (and builders, if known). For the most part, the fieldwork was conducted alone. Gary Stanton helped measure several houses in the fall of 1979 and Dell Upton assisted in several of the later field trips during 1982-1983. In connection with the historical documentation, it should be mentioned that land records are unavailable in the Sanpete Valley until 1870 when the U.S. Geological Survey was completed. Information concerning land ownership for the pre-1870 period is largely contained in LDS ecclesiastical documents and are not accessible for general research. Both these factors make the precise dating of the early buildings in the valley extremely difficult.

By late in 1979, it became obvious that the number of Scandinavian structures in the Sanpete Valley was sufficient to make an understanding of European traditions imperative for the successful completion of the project. Most of the Sanpete Scandinavian immigrants were from Denmark, but there were also many from Sweden and Norway as well. With this in mind, I applied for and received a George Marshall Fellowship from the American Scandinavian Foundation for study in Denmark during the fall of 1980. This research fellowship not only provided access to the fine archival and bibliographic holdings of the Danish National Museum, it

also allowed a limited amount of fieldwork in those European areas which sent settlers to the Sanpete Valley. In addition to particular localities in Jutland, Odense, and Zealand in Denmark, I was able to travel to parts of Scana Province and to Stokholm in Sweden and, further afield, to the Glamorganshire region of South Wales, another important source of immigrants in the Sanpete Valley. This European experience provided essential background data with which to assess the impact of life in Zion on these immigrant building traditions.

Following my return from Denmark, I began the long--seemingly endless--task of turning my field data into meaningful explanation. Throughout the study, my perceptions of this material have continually changed and evolved. To be truthful, I came to this work expecting to find--as others had before me--architectural uniformity. Instead, I found just the opposite, a healthy, typically American frontier architecture with newcomers consistently finding the solutions to their building needs in the traditions of their recently departed homelands. How this pattern of diversity came into being, why it persisted, how it changed--these questions have fueled this inquiry during its long, slow journey to fruition.

A Note on the Drawings

The field measurements for this study were recorded to the nearest 1/2 inch. In reproducing them for this study, it was not possible to work with a scale large enough to faithfully depict their accuracy. I have generally drawn all house floorplans to the scale: 1 inch equals 10 feet. In several instances where the building plans were complicated

enough to be confusing at such a small scale, I used a slightly larger scale: 1 inch equals 8 feet. For all but one of the more detailed roof system drawings I used the scale: 1 inch equals 4 feet.

In the drawings, there has been no attempt to denote materials. This information will be provided in the accompanying captions. When used, elevations have been intended to convey principles of massing and variation and have not been considered to be faithful renderings of particular buildings. Solid lines throughout indicate the original section of structures that have been altered. No attempt has been made to distinguish between the chronology of subsequent alternations, though the sequence of addition is often clear in the width of walls and the placement of attached rooms. In several cases, later additions were not completely measured and are simply depicted by a single undifferentiated line. Also, I have used an arrow, ⟵ , to show the location of stove flues. In all cases, the front of the house plan is found facing the bottom of the page.

Chapter I

Notes

1. The literature dealing with the individualized nature of American settlement is extensive, see in particular Glenn T. Trewartha, "Types of Rural Settlement in Colonial America," Geographical Review, 36:4 (1946): 568-596; Anthony N.B. Garvan, Architecture and Town Planning in Colonial Connecticut (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1951); and Wilbur Zelinsky, The Cultural Geography of the United States (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1973), 44-53. For a discussion of alternative, collective settlement systems, see William M. Murtagh, Moravian Architecture and Town Planning (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967) and Dolores Hayden, Seven American Utopias: The Architecture of Communitarian Socialism (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1976).

2. Lowry Nelson, The Mormon Village: A Pattern and Technique of Land Settlement (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1952).

3. Ibid., 3-4.

4. See Thomas F. O'Dea, The Mormons (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), 119-150, 186-215, and John Sorenson, "Mormon World View and American Culture," Dialogue, 8:2 (1973): 17-29.

5. John W. Reps, Cities of the American West (Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1979), 286-343.

6. See Robert L. Bee, Patterns and Processes: An Introduction to Anthropological Strategies for the Study of Sociological Change (New York: the Free Press, 1974), 74.

7. Dean L. May, "The Making of Saints: The Mormon Town as a Setting for the Study of Cultural Change," Utah Historical Quarterly, 45:1 (Winter 1977): 75-92.

8. For the use of form in historical explanation I have drawn upon the work of Gene Wise in American Historical Explanations, 2nd Ed. Rev. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1980), 23-56. The power of the community concept as an integrating factor in historiography is treated in David J. Russo, Families and Communities: A New View of American History (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1974), 7, and Alan McFarlane, Reconstructing Historical Communities (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1977), 1-4.

9. See Henry Glassie, "Eighteenth Century Cultural Process in Delaware Valley Folk Building," Winterthur Portfolio, 7 (1972): 29-55; James Deetz, "Plymouth Colony Architecture," in Architecture in Colonial

Massachusetts, ed. Abbott Lowell Cummings (Boston: Colonia Society of Massachusetts, 1979), 43-59; James Deetz, In Small Things Forgotten: The Archaeology of Early American Life (Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1977), 105-108; Gerald L. Pocius, "Architecture On Newfoundland's Southern Shore: Diversity and the Emergence of New World Forms," in Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture, ed. Camille Wells (Annapolis, Maryland: Vernacular Architecture Forum, 1982), 217-232; Dell Upton, "Architectural Change in Colonial Rhode Island: The Mott House as a Case Study," Old Time New England, 69:3-4 (January-June 1979): 18-33, and Dell Upton, "Early Vernacular Architecture in Southeastern Virginia" (Ph.D. diss., Brown University, 1980).

10. John Taylor, the LDS Church President following the death of Brigham Young in 1877, summed up the official policy of the church in regard to housing by saying "improve your dwelling houses. If you cannot find the style of house to suit you, go off to other places until you do find one, and then come back and build a better one." Quoted in Hayden, Seven American Utopias, 142.

11. J.E. Spencer, "House Types of Southern Utah," Geographical Review, 35:3 (July 1945): 444-457. See also, "The Middle Virgin River Valley, Utah: A Study in Culture Growth and Change" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, 1936).

12. J.E. Spencer, "House Types," 449.

13. D.W.Meinig, "The Mormon Culture Region: Strategies and Patterns in the Geography of the American West, 1847-1964," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 55:2 (June 1965): 191-220.

14. See Rupert Vance,"The Regional Concept as a Tool for Social Research," in Regionalism and the South: Selected Papers of Rupert Vance, ed. by John Shelton Reed and Daniel Joseph Singal (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1981), 155-175.

15. Richard V. Francaviglia, "The Mormon Landscape: Existence, Creation and Perception of a Unique Image in the American West" (Ph.D. diss., University of Oregon, 1970), 44-88. This work was published in 1978 by AMS Press. See also, Richard V. Francaviglia, "The Mormon Landscape: Definition of An Image in the American West," Proceedings of the Association of American Geographers, 2(1970): 59-61; "Mormon Central-hall Houses in the American West," Annals of the Association of American Geographers," 61(1971): 65-71; and "The Passing Mormon Village," Landscape, 22:2 (Spring 1978): 40-47.

16. Reps., Cities of the American West, 287-311.

17. See Meinig, "The Mormon Culture Region," 213-216, and Klaus D. Gurgel, "Churches and Church Membership Patterns," in Atlas of Utah, ed. Wayne L. Wahlquist (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1981), 141-142.

18. Francaviglia, "The Mormon Landscape," 108.

19. Leon S. Pitman, "A Survey of Nineteenth Century Folk Housing in the Mormon Culture Region" (Ph.D. diss., Louisiana State University, 1973).

20. Ibid., 5.

21. Ibid., 2.

22. Ibid., 2.

23. See Peter L. Goss, "The Architectural History of Utah," Utah Historical Society, 43:3 (Summer 1975): 210-216; Richard C. Poulson, "Folk Material Culture of the Sanpete-Sevier Area, Today's Reflections of a Region's Past," Utah Historical Quarterly, 47:2 (Spring 1979): 130-147; Steven Olsen, Settlement Imagry and Farmstead Morphology Relating to the Village at Pioneer Trails State Park (Salt Lake City: Utah State Division of Parks and Recreation, 1979); Richard H. Jackson, "The Use of Adobe in the Mormon Culture Region," Journal of Cultural Geography, 1:1 (Fall/Winter 1980): 82-95; and Allen G. Noble, "Building Mormon Houses: A Preliminary Typology," Pioneer America, 15:2 (July 1983): 55-66.

24. Thomas Kuhn, The Structure of Scientific Revolutions, International Encyclopedia of Unified Science, 2:2 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 35-42.

25. See Leonard J. Arrington, Feramorz Y. Gox, and Dean L. May, Building the City of God: Community and Cooperation Among the Mormons (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book 1976). This entire study deals candidly with the conflict between communitarian and private interests in early Mormon society. For working definitions of the Puritan and Yankee philosophies, I have relied upon Richard L. Bushman, From Puritan to Yankee: Character and the Social Order in Connecticut, 1690-1765 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980).

26. A more pluralistic view of Mormon society is presented in William A. Wilson, "Mormon Folklore," in Handbook for American Folklore, ed. by Richard M. Dorson (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983), 155-161. Wilson writes, "Folklorists must also devise new ways of looking at Mormon lore. Most studies to date have assumed a cultural homogeneity that in reality has never existed. The fact is that rural and urban Mormons, educated and uneducated Mormons, male and female Mormons, born-in-the-church Mormons and converted Mormons quite often view the world through different eyes and respond to it in different ways." I have adopted this point of view in "North-European Horizontal Log Construction in the Sanpete-Sevier Valleys," Utah Historical Quarterly, 52:1 (Winter 1984).

27. Bjarne Stoklund, "Houses and Culture in the North Atlantic Isles: Three Models of Interpretation," Ethnologia Scandinavica (1980): 122.

28. See the work of John G. Gager, Kingdom and Community: The Social World of Early Christianity (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1975), 9-14.

29. I have relied here on Lewis A. Coser, The Functions of Social Conflict (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1956).

30. Henry Glassie, Folk Housing in Middle Virginia (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1975), 176-193.

31. Dean May, "The Making of Saints," 82.

32. The most obvious example of this type of overextended analysis is Mark P. Leone, Roots of Modern Mormonsm (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979).

33. Material culture as a field of inquiry is summarized in Jules David Prown, "Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method," Winterthur Portfolio, 17:1 (Spring 1982): 1-20. See also, Thomas J. Schlereth, Material Culture Studies in America (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1982), 1-78.

34. Henry Glassie, Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968), 2.

35. See James Deetz, Invitation to Archaeology (Garden City, N.Y.: Natural History Press, 1967), 3-7.

36. Edward Hallett Carr, What is History? (New York: Vintage Books, 1961), 9.

37. Rhys Issac, The Transformation of Virginia, 1740-1790 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), 5.

38. Roger D. Abrahams, "Interpreting Folklore Ethnographically and Sociologically," in Handbook of American Folklore, ed. by Richard M. Dorson (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1983), 343.

39. Ibid., 350.

40. Issac, The Transformation of Virginia, 324.

41. Warren E. Roberts, "Folk Architecture," in Folklore and Folklife: An Introduction, ed. by Richard M. Dorson (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), 281-295, and Henry Glassie, Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States, 4-17.

42. Barre Toelken, The Dynamics of Folklore (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1979), 32-39.

43. See Dan Ben-Amos, "Toward a Definition of Folklore in Context," in

Toward New Perspectives in Folklore, ed. by. Americo Paredes and Richard Bauman (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1972), 3-15.

44. James Deetz, Invitation to Archaeology, 8-11.

Chapter II

Gathering Zion: The History of Early Mormonism

The settlement of the Sanpete Valley during the second half of the nineteenth century was part of the larger attempt by members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, the Mormons, to build a millennial Kingdom of God in the Great Basin region of Utah and surrounding states. This kingdom, a latter-day Zion, was for the faithful an earthly realm whose perfection would hasten the arrival of the expected Second Coming of Christ and over which the Savior would reign during the millenium. In their kingdom building efforts, the early Mormons shared with other millenarian groups the belief that a new vision of heaven must be accompanied by a reformed and restructured social organization on earth. Zion would be composed of the righteous and "pure in heart,"[1] but it was also a "people who shall have their abiding place in the mountains, and who shall build a city that shall be called Zion."[2] For Mormons in the nineteenth century, Zion possessed a dual identity: it was at once internally spiritual and externally material. It is this latter, physical manifestation of Zion, in practice, the Mormon community, which forms the subject of this study. I have attempted in this chapter to trace the historical development of Zion as the conceptual framework around which nineteenth century Mormon society was organized. The people who settled the Sanpete Valley were but one small group of actors in the unfolding of a much larger drama, their roles carefully scripted by their belief in the restoration of

Zion to earth.

The Structure of Mormon Thought

Mormon theology is based upon a series of revelations received by Joseph Smith, the church's founder and prophet, beginning around 1820 with the First Vision and ending with his martyrdom in 1844.[3] Dismayed by the great number of competing religions, Joseph Smith had turned to the Lord for guidance in choosing the right one to join. He was instructed in a vision to avoid all existing churches for they had all "turned aside from the Gospel."[4] Instead, Smith himself was called to reform a modern Babylon and to work preparing God's elect for the time of the Second Coming.

Smith's religious teachings reflected the widespread resurgence of a fundamentalist Christian Primativism which swept through his native New York State during the early years of the nineteenth century.[5] From this conservative religious philosophy, the Mormon faithful acquired a belief in the authority of the Bible as the word of God, in the immediacy of the millennium, and that they represented the restoration of Christ's true church to earth in the Last Days. In believing that they held "the same principles, the same doctrines, the same plan of salvation, the same gifts and graces, the same organization of the Church, the same authority that was in the Church in the ancient days,"[6] the Mormons were reacting both against what they felt were the apostate dogmas of established churches and the liberal "free will" excesses of the numerous evangelical sects which flourished in the New York countryside of Smith's youth.[7]

The story of early Mormonism, its trials and persecutions in the East and its flight to and eventual triumph in the Rocky Mountain West, is largely the story of first Joseph Smith's, and later, his successor, Brigham Young's, quest to fulfill this latter-day prophecy for restoring Christ's gospel to earth. The vehicle for the restoration was Zion, a concept which in time would coalesce into an integrated system of beliefs central to Mormon theology and instrumental in the settlement and colonization of the Intermountain West after 1847.

Millenarian religious movements have been shown to possess certain common traits, the most salient of which for this discussion being, first, the call for the "overthrow or reversal of the present social order," and second, "the promise of heaven on earth--soon."[8] The millenarian process is then essentially twofold: A group must first sever its relations with the prevailing order while at the same time formulating an alternative plan for the future salvation of the world. This dilemma was resolved in Mormonism through the definition of Zion as both the act of withdrawing the Chosen out of Babylon and of creating a new Kingdom of God on earth. The integration of both millenarian functions into a single concept known to the Mormons themselves as the "Gathering of Zion", not only enabled the Latter-day Saints to distinguish themselves from other primativist sects, but also provided the institutional strength needed to endure the persecutions which plagued them through much of the sect's early history. Wallace Stegner has convincingly argued that "no responsible historian can afford to underestimate the literalness of Mormon belief,"[9] and so it must be that the study of Zion's gathering cannot be divorced from its theological underpinnings. For the Mormons, from the leaders down to

the rank and file membership, the task of building Zion was real and consisted of three major activities: First, the initial, missionary stage of taking the gospel to the world (according to Mormon belief, a necessary task before the initiation of the eschaton); second, the act of bringing the Chosen out of Babylon to Zion; and third, the actual preparing of the earth for the expected millennium.

The Mission to Babylon

The first task in the Gathering of Zion involved announcing the restoration of Christ's Church to the peoples of the world. Not long after the church was officially organized at Fayette, New York, in 1830, missionary activity began. For Joseph Smith and his followers, proselytizing work assumed a sense of urgency, since the scriptures clearly indicated that the Last Days were upon them. Several passages from the Doctrine and Covenants, the offical record of Smith's revelations, clarify the essence of the missionary calling:

> For verily, verily, I say unto you that ye are called to lift up your voices as with the sound of a trump, to declare my gospel unto a wicked and perverse world.
>
> For behold, the field is white ready to harvest, and it is the eleventh hour, and the last time I shall call my laborers into the vineyard.[10]

During the fall of 1830, Mormon missionaries succeeded in converting a large group of disaffected Campbellites near Kirtland, Ohio, In a move designed to consolidate the church membership and attract further converts, Smith shifted the location of his church from New York State to Kirtland in Ohio's Western Reserve in the following year. Kirtland

would serve, Smith prophesied, as home for the Saints only "for a little season," as he looked further westward to Missouri on the borders of Indian Territory for a permanent location for Zion.[11] In the years to come, the Saints would move often as violent persecution, triggered by a persistent fear of Mormon Zionism, repeatedly drove them from their homes, first in Ohio, then Missouri, and finally, from Illinois, before a final exodus would bring them to the sanctuary of the Rocky Mountains. Throughout the early years of the Church's migratory existence, however, support for the missionary program never failed. On the surface, sending the young men of the Church away on proselytizing missions placed undue hardships on their abandoned families and seems often to have sapped the strength from the community at times when it was most needed. Yet, the "bread cast upon the water" returned dividends far in excess of the initial investment. Coming in ever increasing numbers during the years after 1840, newly won converts from the eastern United States, Britain, and northern Europe would swell Mormonism's ranks and infuse it with the renewed energy and manpower it needed to survive and even flourish through its darkest hours.[12] These converts also contributed significantly to the cultural diversity of the early Mormon population.

Initial missionary efforts were directed toward the northeastern United States, the birthplace of many of the early members of the Church, and through the middle decades of the nineteenth century Mormonism reflected a strong New England cultural bias. Such homogeneity did not long endure, for the movement into Missouri had added to church membership rolls many converts from the Midwest and South and then, in 1837, at a time when Mormon fortunes were at perhaps

their lowest ebb--the Kirtland economy was collapsing, open warfare had broken out in the Missouri settlements, and few new members were being attracted to the Church--Joseph Smith dispatched his most trusted followers to England to open a British Mission.[13] The Mormon Gospel was well received in Britain, particularly among the already urban and industrialized populations around London, in the West Midlands, in Lancastershire, and in South Wales; by 1890 nearly 55,000 British Saints had converted and emigrated to Zion.[14] Beginning in the early 1840s and peaking in the mid 1850s, the arrival of these British converts sustained the Church through its two major rebuilding periods which followed the expulsions from Missouri (1838) and Illinois (1845). The Mormons experienced similiar results following the opening of a mission in the Scandinavian countries in 1850. Denmark, Norway, and Sweden contributed some 23,000 immigrants to Utah after 1853, an influx of people and craft skills which allowed church leaders to implement successfully a policy of expansion in the Great Basin country during the 1850s and 1860s.[15] Mormonism prospered and grew at the expense of its distinctively New England character.

The push factors behind the massive emigration of foreign Saints to the Mormon Zion in the United States are undeniable; there were real reasons for these people to leave their homes and relatives behind for the prospects of a new life in America. Economic uncertainty has been determined as a major factor behind the outbursts of religious enthusiasm which accompanied the Great Awakenings in the United States during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[16] Similarly, it is impossible to ignore the industrial blight of England's cities[17] or the disruption of agricultural life following the "land

reforms" of the 1840s and 1850s in Scandinavia[18] as important push factors stimulating emigration. Purely economic explanations for missionary successes, however important they may have been in creating a favorable climate for the acceptance of the Mormon doctrine, cannot obscure the powerful spiritual and emotional drawing power which the church had with people from all economic and social classes. The magnetic pull of Zion cannot be underestimated as a force in creating the unswerving faith which enabled both American and foreign converts to endure the persecutions, personal sacrifices, and daily hardships which were the by-products of the Gathering. The Mormon message was distinctively optimistic and it had, on its own merit, much appeal.[21] It was also a message of movement, for conversion to Mormonism was synonymous with gathering to Zion.

The Gathering of Zion

Receiving the baptismal rites of membership, new Mormons were instructed to "come out from the wicked world, from Babylon."[20] No one would be safe from the destructive forces of the last days who failed to come to Zion, the last refuge. The fate of the existing world was predetermined by the apocalytpic vision of early Mormonism. Through revelation, Joseph Smith warned the inhabitants of the wicked world:

> For after today [the Last Days] cometh the burning--this is speaking after the manner of the Lord--for verily I say, tomorrow all the proud and they that do wickedly shall be as stubble; and I will burn them up, for I am the Lord of Hosts; and I will not spare any that remain in Babylon.[21]

In time the spectre of the Apocalypse would fade, but the belief that

great evil would eventually befall the non-Mormon, or Gentile, world, remained an important undercurrent in Mormon thought throughout most of the nineteenth century. After 1830, Mormon eschatology moved increasingly away from predicicting the time of the Apocalypse toward defining the place where the expected Event would occur.[22] Zion as place becomes the second major facet of the Mormon Gathering.

As a millenarian sect, the Latter-day Saints believed that Christ would rule upon earth during the millennium and therefore the Advent was an event which could be viewed with great anticipation.[23] Joseph Smith's teaching strongly suggested that the time was indeed drawing near when the Saints might expect Christ's appearance. In 1835 he told an audience that about "fifty-six years should wind up the scene."[24] While Smith later retracted this prediction in favor of a less specific pronouncement, the year 1890 was generally absorbed into Mormon folk belief as the time appointed for the beginning of the millennium. As can be expected, this date became more important for Mormons as the century progressed and the expected time came and went. In the 1830s, however, the remoteness of the date coupled with the exigencies of organizing a rapidly growing church shifted chiliastic attention away from time and onto place. The Lord instructed the faithful to "assemble themselves upon the land of Zion,"[25] and await the imminent but unspecified "time of My coming."[26] As the concept of the Zionism gathered momentum within the church, Smith found himself pressed to reveal, if not the time, then the exact location for the Gathering.

Though at the time the largest group of Saints was residing at Kirtland, missionaries to the Native American Indians had recently returned from Missouri with glowing reports concerning the desireability

of that land for settlement and the possibilities for successfully establishing an Indian mission. In the summer of 1831, Joseph Smith journeyed to the Missouri frontier and in a revelation proclaimed that it was this "land that I [God] have appointed and consecrated for the Gathering of the Saints.[27] The place was the struggling village of Independence in Jackson County. Here was to be the gathering place of the restoration, all other Mormon communities would revolve around it as satellites and were to be called, in an analogy to the supporting poles of a tent, "stakes" of Zion. In 1832, Kirtland was generally abandoned in favor of the Missouri site and by 1835, nearly 1200 Saints had settled in the vicinity of Independence. The move was not without opposition, and it was here that the Gathering encountered its first open and organized resistance.

In the popular mind, polygamy--the peculiar institution of Mormonism--lay at the heart of the outside world's suspicion and hatred of Smith's sect.[28] Actually, the doctrine of plural marriage was not revealed until 1844, and then, it remained largely a rumor until openly announced by Brigham Young in the Salt Lake Valley in 1854.[29] The early sources of conflict between Mormons and their neighbors, however, can largely be found in the perceived religious, economic, and political threats that the Mormons posed to those around them.

Ridiculed for what non-believers saw as the sham and delusion of modern relevation, Mormonism's popularity was at the same time a persistent source of concern to the established, orthodox religions of the time. The Mormon penchant for organized and collective behavior in political and business activities appeared to outsiders a violation of the most cherished principles of American democracy, namely, the

separation of church and state and the free market economy. Philosophically repugnant, such group-oriented practices were seen to give the Mormons disproportinate power in both politics and commerce, where indidvuals were placed at an unfair advantage by competing against the church as a whole. Such everyday fears were not unfounded and proved to be the friction points which ignited the fires of persecution. In all the areas where they settled, local residents greeted the Latter-day Saints at first with suspicion, and later, with hostility. Persecution drove them first from their Independence settlements northward in 1835 to the Missouri counties along the Iowa border and then, in 1838, from Missouri entirely, as the group was forced back to the Mississippi River and Illinois. Here they were joined by the remaining Saints from Kirtland and they founded the town of Nauvoo. Nauvoo prospered for a time, but the problems plaguing them in Missouri resurfaced in Illinois and as Nauvoo grew (some 11,000 people by early 1840s), tensions increased. Smith was eventually arrested in 1844 and, while awaiting trial in Carthage, the prophet was murdered.

The unfortunate events of this early period of Mormon history are recorded elsewhere in detail and are not the specific concern of this study.[30] It is enough perhaps to say that early Zion knew many homes--Missouri and Illinois under the leadership of Smith, and after 1845, Utah with Brigham Young. Theologically, Jackson County remained the center of the Gathering and today this area is still regarded by faithful Mormons as the future location of the New Jerusalem. After the exodus westward, however, the realities of the moment dictated the shifting of Zionistic activities to Utah. Here in the largely

uninhabited expanses of the Great Basin where there would be no outside interference, the Kingdom of God would be built. The last act of the Mormon drama--the act of preparing the earth for the Savior's return--would then be played out in the Intermountain West.

Building Zion

The establishment of Zion geographically did not preclude a continued interest by the Saints in the "time" of the Second Coming. The question of when they could expect the Advent remained a topic of much discussion. Because the imminent arrival of the millenium could not be implied, as it was in Mormon scripture, and still be ignored, the Prophet informed the faithful that Christ would not appear until "everything for the Bridegroom is ready."[31] Part of this readiness could be witnessed in outside events. Both natural and man-made disasters became "signs of the times" to the Saints watching for indications that the Last Days were upon them. In addition to waiting and watching, the Mormons a theology of activism--theirs was a "work hard and you shall be rewarded" approach to salvation.[32] The Saints would not, as had the followers of William Miller in 1844, lock themsleves into a doctrine promising the miraculous and catacylsmic creation of Zion at the time of the Second Coming.[33] Quite the reverse--the Mormon Zion would be built and prepared by the labor of the Saints themselves. Speaking in Salt Lake City in 1857, Brigham Young addressed the issue of those members who failed to understand the nature of their calling: "They gather here with the spirit of Zion resting upon them, and expecting to find Zion in its glory, whereas their own

doctrine should teach them that they are coming here to make Zion."[34]

In rejecting Babylon and all that went with it, the Mormons were compelled to fashion a new order to replace the discarded old one, and thereby establish "the moral, social, and political condition necessary before Christ's return would occur."[35] What precisely these conditions were remains unclear in the written record. Scholars have continually emphasized the Kingdom building aspects of early Mormonism, but rarely have they paused to consider the specific implications of the process. There was, however, a general plan for the Kingdom and it is set forth in Mormon scripture. An important recent article by the anthropologist Steven Olsen points to the connection between the expected form of the earthly Kingdom and the image of the City of Zion depicted in the Vision of Enoch, part of Joseph Smith's 1830 reworking of the Bible.

Olsen's work with Zion as an evolving concept in Mormon thought suggests that Zion transcends an amorphous, spiritual righteousness and is more than simply the place where peace and harmony would exist.[36] There was a plan for Zion, a plan based upon the Order of Enoch outlined in Joseph Smith's early vision of that name. In expanding the biblical record, Smith almost autobiographically tells of Enoch, the son of Jared, being summoned by God to reform a corrupt world. An unshakeable faith allows Enoch to execute his calling by establishing a "holy city named Zion, whose inhabitants qualifed themselves to be received by God into heaven where Zion became God's 'abode forever.'"[37] The Vison of Enoch, Olsen notes, "suggested that when the earthly Zion perfected itself, heavenly Zion [the redeemed City of Enoch] would descend with Christ at the Second Coming to restore paradise to earth. These events

would consumate the express purpose of the Gathering, namely the integration of heaven and earth."[38] Enoch's Zion, then, may be viewed as the prototype for the perfection of the temporal Kingdom. The relationship between the heavenly and earthly Zion is never explicitly stated in the scriptures, but Olsen reasons that, in Mormon cosmology, earth mirrors heaven and the city indentified in Smith's vision of Enoch "came to be the divine model for the Mormon's earthly undertakings."[39] When the Saints talked of perfecting the earth and building Zion as the seed of the restoration, they were not speaking in uncertain terms. Zion was indeed a place, but more importantly, it was a place with a specific structure, a structure based upon the Order of Enoch. Zion was a world, urban in its physical nature, with a definite economic and social order, where religion, not politics, ruled. As the Saints worked to build up Zion in the Rocky Mountains, it not surprisingly took on the character of Enoch's City. Mormon polity was organized around, at least in its idealized form, a prescriptive set of principles grounded firmly in theology.

Enoch's Zion was politically a theocracy, a society governed by divine order channeled through the Church president as "prophet, seer, and revelator."[40] During the nineteenth-century, there was little difference between civil and religious government, for both were bound as one into the fabric of Mormon society. Divine intervention, interpreted officially as the doctrine of continuing revelation but existing at the folk level as the understanding that God could and would act directly in the lives of men, became a cornerstone of Mormon faith.[41] Since Mormons believed that they represented the restoration of the organization of the Primitive Church, an apostolic governing

hierarchy was reinstituted. All males who were worthy in their convenants to the Church possessed the power of the priesthood to adminster the ordinances of the gospel and to serve in leadership positions. In effect, however, the governing power of the priesthood remained with the president of the Church who, as the earthly servant of God's will, headed the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles and dictated in spiritual and temporal matters.

The daily administration of the church was organized around a hierarchically ordered network of officials, each subordinate to the level just above and all appointed by and answerable to the Church President and the Council of the Twelve Apostles.[42] The smallest unit of ecclesiastical jurisdiction was the ward. In the nineteenth century, the ward was often synonomous with the town itself, with one town consisting of one ward. As the towns grew they were divided geographically into several wards. A lay bishop, appointed by the hierarchy, presided over the ward and dealt with both secular and spiritual matters of local concern. The wards of a particular region were consolidated into "stakes" and placed under the supervision of an appointed stake president. This system of hierarchical accountability provided the church with an effective and highly structured governing apparatus. The system insured the perpetuation of the power structure, it fostered a spirit of group identity, and it faciliated the unified action required in settling towns, erecting church buildings, and implementing the social programs of the Order of Enoch.

While eschewing the strict communalism advocated by other utopian societies, Enoch's Zion would be structured economically around a program of market cooperation and collective action that was designed to

"eliminate the competitive and individualizing tendencies of free market economics and private property."[43] The special device for such a reordering of society was the Law of Consecration and Stewardship, revealed to Joseph Smith in 1830.[44] This Law was based upon the premise that the earth and all in it belonged to the Lord. Members were asked to deed or "consecrate" their personal property to the Church and in return receive a property allotment or "stewardship." Such a stewardship was called an "inheritance in Zion" and its size was to be determined according to each family's needs and abilities. Since an inheritance would not necessarily be equal to an individual's consecration, wealthy Saints would provide the church with a surplus of property which could be distributed to poorer members. The property itself was to be operated by the individual under the general direction of the hierarchy; but because each family remained in control of its own stewardship, a degree of free enterprise in production and management continued. Production surpluses were to be passed on to church coffers for the support of the hierarchy and its programs. This system, called the Order of Enoch, or more graphically, the United Order, was intended to redistribute wealth among the Saints and generally to "act as a leveler, designed to bring about a condition of relative temporal equality among the early converts to the Church, for according to another [church] doctrine 'it is not given that one man should possess that which is above another, wherefore the world lieth in sin."[45]

Translated into everyday practice, the rhetoric of the United Order ran into the problem of realities.[46] Administrative problems proved insurmountable and the legal status of consecration deeds was openly challenged by apostate members. The programs for redistributing wealth

also proved unpopular with those Saints (often the leaders themselves) who held large estates. The economic order of Enoch's heavenly city was replaced in temporal Zion in 1838 by the "lesser law" of tithing, whereby members were obliged to turn over ten percent of their yearly production to the Church.[47] Brigham Young made several attempts to restore the Order, first in the mid-1850s and then again in the early 1870s. Both attempts were initially greeted with enthusiasm, but dissatisfaction triggered by the reluctance of many of the members to participate led to the failure of both of these consecration movements. The communitarian ideals of the Law of Consecration and Stewardship remained alive, however, and the tithing program itself was viewed as a temporary arrangement--a training period for preparing the Saints for the eventual reinstatement of the full United Order. As late as 1973, Marion G. Romney, a counselor to the Church President, told an interviewer: "I think the United Order will be the last principle of the gospel we will learn to live and that doing so will bring in the millenium."[48]

The Vison of Enoch thus provided Zion with a distinctive economic order and the fact that it was never fully implemented does not diminish its symbolic power within the Church. The point worth stressing here is that communitarian thinking played an important role in defining the character of the emerging Mormon society. Despite their inability to implement a general social reorganiation along the lines outlined by the United Order, Mormons would continue to display a remarkable degree of group solidarity and collective behavior. Time and time again the Saints would marshall their financial and human resources for strong and effective group action. The overland migration from Illinois, the

emigration program for bringing foreign converts to Utah, the efforts to establish a system of home industry and cooperative merchandising, and the massive church building programs are all good examples of the ability of the Saints to work together for the common good. Such programs were not without their problems and detractors, but collective action played a significant role in the successful settlement and colonization of the Great Basin country in the years after 1847. These experiments in economic and social planning left their mark on Mormon society and continue to be visible today in the pattern of Mormon western settlement.

If Joseph Smith's Vision of Enoch gave Zion political and economic substance, it also endowed it with a definite physical presence: It clearly stated that there was to be a city of Zion.[49] Zion would have an urban form, not in the sense of the metropolis, but in that its people would live together in farming towns rather than spread out on individual farms. In the Book of Mormon, the city of Zarahemla is a meaningful analogue to Zion as city. Zarahemla, "because of the love of God which did dwell in the hearts of the people," enjoyed peace and prosperity and was free from all sin and evil.[50] Here was the earthly paradise envisioned by Mormon planners, a New Jerusalem, a city that "lieth foursquare" with God's temple at its heart. Joseph Smith's 1833 "Plat for the City of Zion" gave formal definition to Enoch's heavenly city.

By 1831, Missouri had been proclaimed the center of Zion and as the Saints moved here in increasing numbers it became clear that some attention should be devoted to establishing a plan for the new settlements. In a letter to the Missouri Saints in 1833, the prophet

outlined his plan for the City of Zion, a plan (figure 4) which may be summarized as follows: The city was to be a compact, nucleated farming community, one mile square, and divided into ten acre blocks. These blocks were then subdivided into house lots of equal size with the stipulation that each lot not have more than one dwelling. The houses were to have a uniform setback of 25 feet, be constructed of brick and stone, and have shade trees, orchards, and garden plots located around them. The central blocks were reserved for public buildings and temples; of the latter there were to be 24. The houses were all to be contained within the city limits, with farm acreage and barns located outside at a distance not too great to prohibit easy access. The city was designed for a population of 15 or 20 thousand people and once this number had been reached, a new city was to be laid off in a similar fashion. The City of Zion described by Smith was never fully implemented, but it served as the basic model for Mormon communities in the West.

The Mormon town, especially as it surfaced in the Great Basin, took on a structure which closely followed the spirit if not the letter of the prophet's instructions.[51] Tabernacles, or meeting houses, normally replaced the temples on the central blocks. In Utah, only four temples were constructed in the years before 1900. Serving the ritual rather than congregational needs of the religion, the temples were monumental structures whose size and cost often transcended the scale of the town itself.[52] In practice, the Mormon western town deviated in other ways from Zion's Plat. The actual number of lots in a block varied (ranging from four to more than a dozen) and barns and other farm buildings were constructed in the town rather than outside on the

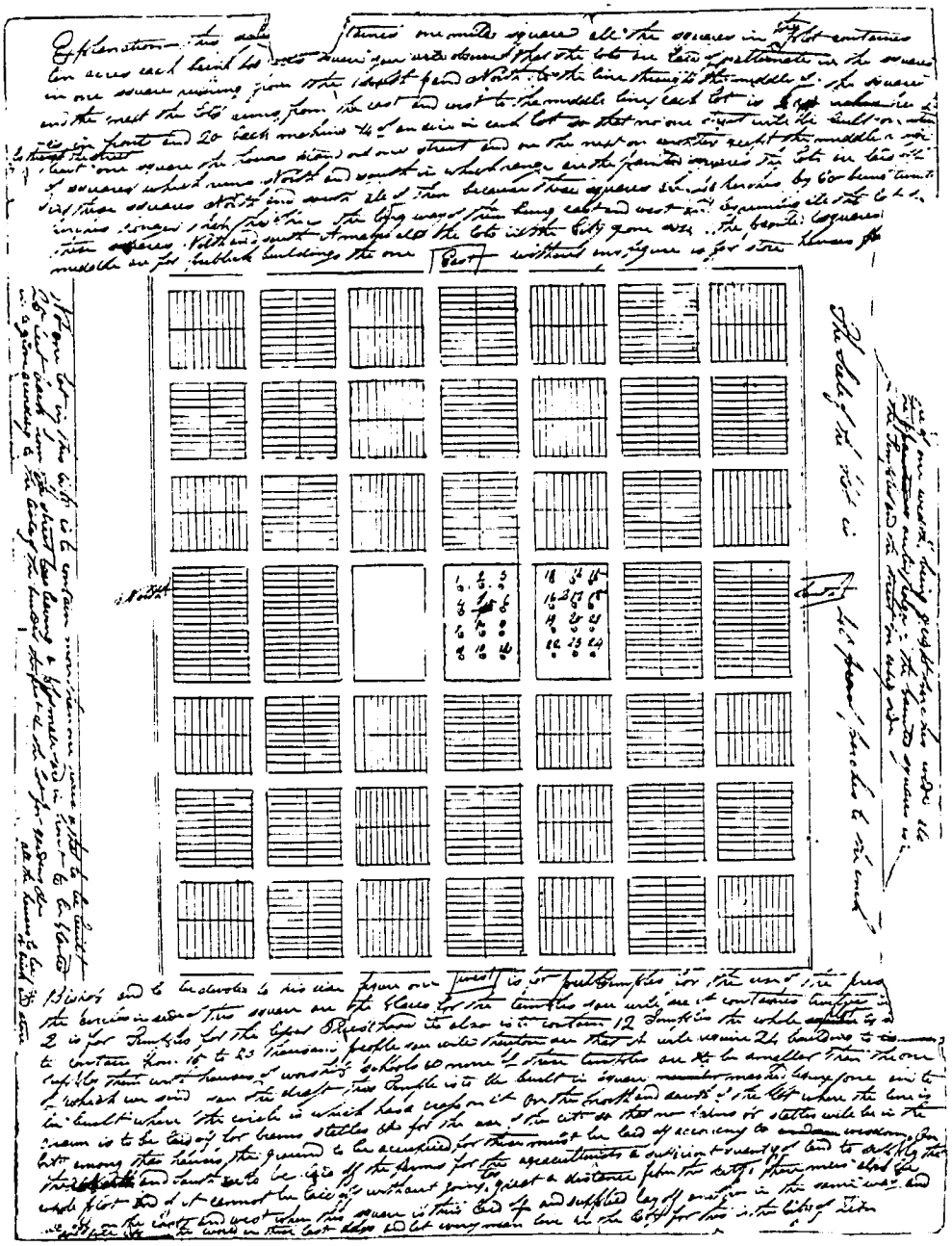


Figure 4: Joseph Smith's Plat for the City of Zion

farms. The important feature of the City of Zion which is evident in nearly all Mormon communtities is the simple fact that the settlers lived in towns rather than spread out on individual farmsteads. This simple but powerful concept--an opposition between group and individual values--visually defines the Mormon western landscape.

The concept of Zion then provided the Saints both with a plan for salvation and settlement. The Gathering spread the gospel, was instrumental in assembling the Saints, and offered, through the Order of Enoch, a method for preparing the earth, politically, socially, and materially, for the millennium. It was an innovative, almost revolutionary program. In leaving the apostate world behind, the followers of Joseph Smith detached themselves from what Brigham young called the "tradition of their fathers" and looked forward to the building of a new world free from the plagues of the older, corrupt society.[53] The new social order being constructed could not resemble the old, but must stand in opposition to the larger society around it. If Jacksonian America of the early 1800s championed popular democracy, Zion would be theocratic and authoritarian. If a free-market, laissez-faire economic philosophy reigned, then Zion would be cooperative and communitarian. If Gentile society preferred a dispersed settlement pattern, Zion would be a nucleated community.[54] Life in Zion was to be a new experience and for the Saints, the old rules had to be discarded and a new set put into place. The Mormon Zion followed a millenarian pattern suggested in Kenhelm Burridge's New Heaven, New Earth; it was a "new-culture-in-the-making."[55]

Building Zion then implies the act of becoming, the process by which a new society is brought into being. The act was synthetic, for as it

shrugged off the mantle of Babylon, the raiments of Zion were not fashioned out of whole cloth but woven from the multi-cultural fibers which were found along its path. The making of Mormon society was not accomplished through the process of acculturation, the blending of immigrants into a dominant New England culture, but of syncretism, the melding of the various cultures into an essentially new, Mormon culture. William Wilson, in discussing the folklore of Mormon Scandinavian immigrants, suggests that these immigrants "did not become Yankees or English; they became Mormons--which is what the Yankees and English also became."[56] The historian Dean May has rephrased Toqueville's famous question, "Who is this man, this Mormon?"[57] The answer lies in understanding the process which brought him (and her) into existence, a process that can best be viewed within the context of Mormon society itself. The purposes and ideals of the movement may be extracted from Joseph Smith's revelations and from Brigham Young's sermons, but seeing how such abstractions were translated into everyday life offers an opportunity to see how Zion worked for those that built and who used it.

Chapter II

Notes

1. Brigham Young, Journal of Discourses (1854; reprint, Los Angeles: Gartner Printing, 1956), 8:198.

2. Orson Pratt, Journal of Discourses, 16:78.

3. The full record of Joseph Smith's original revelation is contained in The Book of Mormon (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1980). Good descriptive summaries may be found in most of the standard historical texts dealing with Mormons, see in particular, James B. Allen and Glen Leonard, The Story of the Latter-day Saints (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1976), 7-56; Nels Anderson, Desert Saints: The Mormon Frontier in Utah (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942), ix-xxvi; Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), 3-19; Fawn M. Brodie, No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976), 1-97; and O'Dea, The Mormons, 1-40.

4. Smith's account of the vision is quoted in Arrington and Bitton, The Mormon Experience, 7.

5. Allen and Leonard, The Story of the Latter-day Saints, 12-14; Arrington and Bitton, The Mormon Experience, 28-30; and Marvin S. Hill, "The Role of Christian Primitivism in the Origin and Development of the Mormon Kingdom, 1830-1844" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1968).

6. George Q. Cannon, Journal of Discourses, 26:40.

7. See Whitney R. Cross, The Burned-over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850 (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), 7-10.

8. Gager, Kingdom and Community, 21.

9. Wallace Stegner, The Gathering of Zion: The Story of the Mormon Trail (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964), 2.

10. The Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1974), 33:2-3.

11. Allen and Leonard, The Story of the Latter-day Saints, 62.

12. Arrington and Bitton, The Mormon Experience, 140-143.

13. The history of the LDS British Mission is recorded in P.A.M. Taylor, Expectations Westward: the Mormons and the Emigration of Their British Converts in the Nineteenth-Century (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1966).

15. William Mulder, Homeward to Zion: the Mormon Migration from Scandinavia (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1957), 102-112.

16. See Gager, Kingdom and Community, 22-28. Gager notes that in early Christianity that "relative rather than absolute deprivation most often characterizes premillenarian conditions. Defined as an 'uneven relation between expectation and the means of satisfaction,' this condition frequently emerges when new hopes arise but for some reason remain unfilled"(p.27). Western New York in the early 1800s was experiencing an economic boom precipitated by the completion of the Erie Canal in 1825. The fruits of this new prosperity were, however, not evenly distributed. See also, Cross, The Burned-over District, 55-76, and Brodie, No Man Knows My History, 1-15.

17. Taylor, Expectations Westward, 144-159. See also, Philip Taylor, The Distant Magnet: European Emigration to the United States (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), 20-25.

18. Kristian Hvidt, Flight to America: The Social Background of 300,000 Danish Emigrants (New York: Academic Press, 1975), 123-135, and Palle Ole Christiansen, "Peasant Adaptation to Bourgeosis Culture? Class Formation and Cultural Redefinition in the Danish Countryside," Ethnologia Scandinavica (1978): 107-113.

19. Arrington and Bitton, The Mormon Experience, 20-43.

20. Brigham Young, Journal of Discourses, 12:282.

21. Doctrine and Covenants, 64:24.

22. Mulder, Homeward to Zion, 16, and Klaus J. Hansen, Quest for Empire: The Political Kingdom of God and the Council of Fifty in Mormon History (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1967), 3-23..

23. Mormonism has often been characterized as an "amillennial" religion, because in the nineteenth century it embraced aspects of both premillennial and postmillennial thought. In its "gathering" posture Mormonism was decidedly premillennial for the Saints clearly believed that the Advent would not occur until certain temporal preparations had been accomplished. The strong emphasis, however, on "living in the Kingdom," particularly during the early days in Utah, lends a distinctly postmillennial quality to the Mormon worldview, implying as it does that the millennium had in fact already begun. I am indebted here to conversations with Professor Jan Shipps during the spring of 1984. See Arrington and Bitton, The Mormon Experience, 36-37; Hansen, Quest for Empire, 13-14; Louis Garr Reinwald, "An Interpretative Study of Mormon Millennialism

during the Nineteenth Century; with Emphasis on Millennial Developments in Utah" (Master's Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1971); and Grant Underwood, "Millenarianism and the Early Mormon Mind," Journal of Mormon History, 9 (1982): 41-52.

24. Hansen, Quest for Empire, 18.

25. Doctrine and Covenants, 62:2.

26. Ibid., 34:21.

27. Ibid., 51:2.

28. The controversial nature of Mormon plural marriage has generated a vast amount of literature, most of it polemicial in nature. For an early historical study, see Kimball Young, Isn't One Wife Enough? (1954, reprint, Westport, Cn.: Greenwood Press, 1973).

29. Lawrence Foster, Religion and Sexuality: Three American Communal Experiments of the Nineteenth Century (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 123-124.

30. The early, pre-Utah history of Mormonism is covered exhaustively in the general histories, see in particular, however, Robert B. Flanders, Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965).

31. Hansen, Quest for Empire, 16.

32. Leonard J. Arrington, Great Basin Empire: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900 (1958; reprint, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), 3-4.

33. Cross, The Burned-Over District, 287-297.

34. Brigham Young, Journal of Discourses, 5:4.

35. Arrington and Bitton, The Mormon Experience, 37.

36. Steven L. Olsen, "Zion: The Structure of a Theological Revolution," Sunstone, 6:6 (November/December 1981): 21-26.

37. Ibid., 24.

38. Ibid., 24.

39. Ibid., 24.

40. The organization of LDS government is outlined in Anderson, Desert Saints, 324-360.

41. See Austin E. and Alta S. Fife, Saints of Sage and Saddle (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1956), and Richard M.

Dorson, American Folklore (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959), 112-121.

42. For background information on the Mormon Ward, see Arrington and Bitton, The Mormon Experience, 206-219.

43. Olsen, "Zion," 24.

44. Arrington, Fox, and May, Building the City of God, 15-40.

45. Ibid., 16.

46. Ibid., 11, 15-40.

47. Ibid., 34.

48. Ibid., 361.

49. The following discussion on the City of Zion draws upon Olsen, "Zion," 22-25, and Reps, Cities of the American West, 286-311.

50. The Book of Mormon, Nephi 4:15.

51. Reps, Cities of the American West, 312-343. See also, Richard H. Jackson, "The Mormon Village: Genesis and Antecedents of the City of Zion Plan," Brigham Young University Studies, 17:2 (Winter 1977): 223-240.

52. Laurel B. Andrew, The Early Temples of the Mormons: the Architecture of the Millennial Kingdom in the American West (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1978).

53. Brigham Young, Journal of Discourses,

54. Alice Felt Tyler, Freedom's Ferment (New York: Harper and Row, 1962), 5-46.

55. Kenhelm Burridge, New Heaven, New Earth: A Study of Millenarian Activities (New York: Schocken Books, 1969), 8.

56. William A. Wilson, "Folklore of Utah's Little Scandinavia," Utah Historical Quarterly, 47:2 (Spring 1979): 151.

57. Dean May, "The Making of Saints," 81.

Chapter III

The Sanpete Stake of Zion

Figure 5: The Sanpete Valley: Looking North to Manti

Driven from their homes along the Mississippi River, the Mormons moved westward into the Great Basin region of the Rocky Mountains. Here was a land that western pioneers and fortune seekers had passed by on their way to the green vales of Oregon and the riches of California. It was a dry country, a home to several nomadic Shoshonian bands--a place

to go through on the way to somewhere else. For the Mormons, however, their minds fresh with bitter memories of persecution and the martyrdom of their prophet, Joseph Smith, the Great Basin offered the one thing that they most needed--isolation. Here was a place where they could escape the hatred and intolerance of the Gentile world, a place where the seeds of Zion could be planted in peace.[1] Even as the first Saints entered the Salt Lake Valley in 1847, a program for consolidating this dearly-bought freedom was being set into motion. The building of Zion would be accomplished through a combined policy of self-sufficiency and land occupation. By promoting home industry, cooperation, and abstinence, the Saints could keep interaction with the corrupt outside world to a minimum. By physically occupying as much of the Great Basin as possible through an organized system of colonization, Mormon hegemony in the area could be insured. Gentiles would be prevented from taking up land on or within the borders of Zion and once again thwarting the Saints in their Kingdom Building efforts.[2] It was thus, as one part of a sweeping plan for the building of a Great Basin Kingdom, that a small party of Saints was dispatched from Salt Lake City in the fall of 1849, just two years after the founding of that city, to occupy and settle the Sanpete Valley in central Utah.

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an historical overview of the Sanpete Valley. What kind of land was it, who were the people who came here, and what kind of communities did they build? These are questions which demand attention, not so much because they can provide a "setting" for the study that follows, but because they are integral to the study itself. In dealing here with the Mormon occupation of the Sanpete Valley, my intention has been to historically reconstruct the

particularistic context--the phenomenal setting--of the buildings to be discussed in later chapters.[3] This context is the Mormon landscape with the town at its center. The difficulty involved in such reconstruction is openly admitted for the passing of has destroyed much of the evidence. Yet much still remains, enough perhaps to allow late-comers to glimpse something of the nineteenth century world which the houses inhabited.

Climate and Geography

The Sanpete Valley lies within the Colorado Plateau physiographic province of central Utah. This type of land form is characterized by a high, gently rolling plateau cut by "flat, north-south-trending, fault controlled valleys which are occupied by the major streams."[4] Elevations within the Colorado Plateau region range from 8,000 to 12,000 feet at the level of the plateau itself and fall to 5,000 to 6,500 feet along the valley floors. The climate is semiarid with the annual 8-14 inches of precipitation occurring mostly in the form of snow at the higher elevations. Temperatures are cold in the winter and hot and dry in the summer. There is a frost-free growing season of about 90 days. The melting of the winter snowpack provides the water for irrigation during the spring and summer months that makes farming here possible.

The Sanpete Valley (Figure 6) is about 40 miles long and its width varies from less than 2 miles at its southern tip to about 15 miles in the north.[5] The valley is roughly "Y" shaped, with the northern end being split by the southward projection of what is called the Moroni Upland. On the west, the valley is contained by the San Pitch Mountains

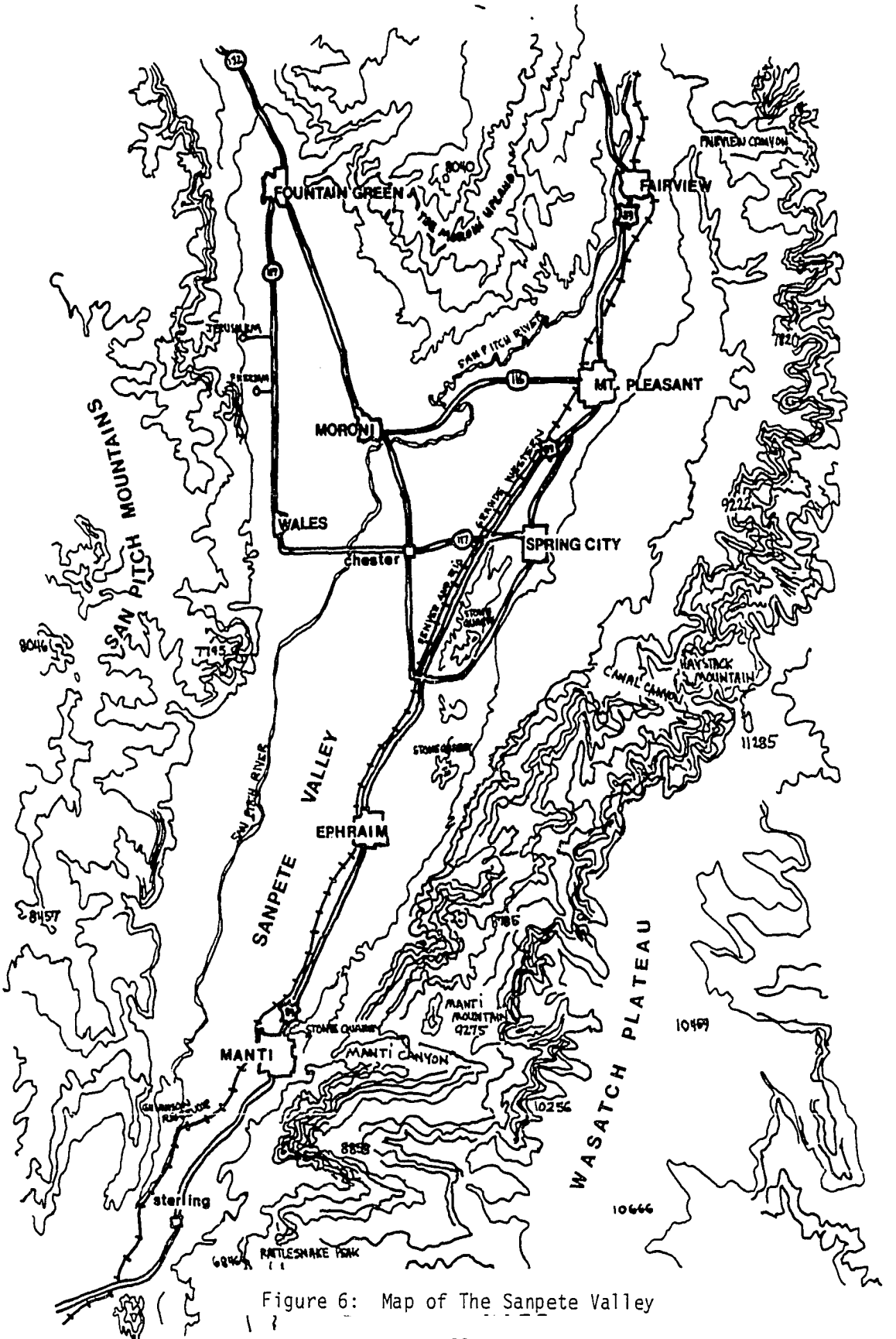


Figure 6: Map of The Sanpete Valley

and on the east stands the formidable barrier of the loftly Wasatch Plateau. The valley averages an elevation of about 5500 feet above sea level. The San Pitch Mountains are in the 5,000 to 8,000 foot range, while on the east, the Wasatch Plateau is higher, rising to between 8,000 and 11,000 feet. Sanpete's high altitute and harsh climate are partially mitigated by the mountains themselves, for the high peaks shield the valley from the ravages of winter storms.

The San Pitch River flows the length of the valley, beginning in the mountains north of the town of Fairview and wandering southward, fed by the many creeks flowing from the adjacent mountain canyons before finally emptying into the upper Sevier River drainage. The valley is accessible from the north through Salt Creek Canyon above Fountain Green and through Thistle Canyon north of Fairview. On the south, the Gunnison Narrows opens out into the Sevier River Valley. The Sanpete Valley enjoys a natural isolation and while it is politically tied to the larger Sanpete County to the south and west, it remains historically and culturally a distinctive area within the Mormon-settled region.

The name Sanpete is an anglicization of San Pitch, the name of what was most likely a Southern Piute people living in the valley at the time of the arrival of the Mormon settlers. Several other more mobile and war-like Ute bands also were found here as well.

History: 1849-1890

Given its strategic central location and its obvious natural assets, Mormon colonization in the Sanpete Valley was perhaps inevitable. Yet, the specific decision to move settlers into this remote mountain valley

at such an early date (the main settlement at Salt Lake City was less than two years old) came as a response to requests by one of the local bands of Utes and their chief, Wakara (Walker), for the Mormons to come and teach them to build houses and plant crops.[6] The motives behind this request remain unclear, but in the summer of 1849 a delegation was sent to Wakara's people from Salt Lake City which, favorably impressed with the settlement opportunities afforded by the valley, returned north supporting the idea of planting a new colony in this location.[7] Therefore, during the fall of 1849, fifty families under the leadership of Issac Morley started out for the Sanpete Valley. Entering from the northeast through Salt Creek Canyon, Morley's party moved southward and made camp at the present site of Manti. Winter soon closed in and after several months of huddling in wagon boxes, tents, and caves, the Saints began the process of setting in spring crops and laying out a city.

The nascent Sanpete settlement was visited during the summer of 1850 by Mormon Church President Brigham Young and one of his counselors, Heber C. Kimball. Under their direction, the townsite was surveyed into 110 blocks containing 24 square rods each and the name Manti was chosen, after one of the notable cities in the Book of Mormon. The Fourth General Epistle of the Church, issued in September 1850, contained the following description of the Sanpete colony and a plan for linking it via a string of smaller settlements to the parent colony at Salt Lake City:

> On the last of July Brothers Young and Kimball left home on a visit to Utah and Sanpete [counties] and returned on the 12th of August, having found a place for a good settlement, located a city at Sanpete [Manti] and noticed several intermediate sites worthy the attention of smaller colonies which we anticipate will be settled this fall, making a pleasant and safe communication from this [Salt Lake City] to our most southern habitation. The Sanpete settlement

> will also be strengthened and others will spread on the north to and beyond Ogden, so that when the emigration of this season should close there will be a continued line of villages, at short distances, for more than 200 miles in extent.[8]

The settlement objectives for 1850, then, were to bolster the initial settlement at Manti while beginning the task of establishing other towns to the north. These new towns would facilitate travel, communication, and supply within the valley and would also serve as an outlet for the increasing numbers of Saints flowing yearly into the Salt Lake Valley. An 1853 entry in Christian Nielson's diary explains the attraction of the Sanpete area:

> It was stated that there was plenty of grass and forest at that country place [Sanpete] and there was a good opportunity for emigrants to get around and have a house erected at that place. The best ground around Salt Lake City was already divided out, or bought, and, of course, nearly everyone of ours did not have the dollars to buy with. Our oxen and other animals that belongs to us could likely find more grass to eat in San Pete than around Salt Lake City, where grass fields were limited. Further, it took three days to get a load of cut down trees taken from the mountains to Salt Lake City and a small load will cost $6. For the different reasons stated, it was recommended by our church authorities, and accepted by us, to journey down to Sanpete.[9]

After 1850 expansion in the valley was fueled by a steady influx of new settlers arriving from the northern Mormon colonies.

The first settlement outside Manti occurred seven miles north at Pine Creek, later called Ephraim. Here Issac Behunnin, his wife, and nine children, spent the winter of 1852-1853 and in the spring started breaking ground for a farm. Also during this year, James Allred received permission to start a community several miles to the north of Behunnin's farm along Canal Creek at the present location of Spring City. The Saints at Allred's Settlement soon had constructed a small fort consisting of log cabins arranged in a square. Here, in the fall, came the first large company of Scandinavian immigrants. Still further

north, at a point along Pleasant Creek, Madison Hamilton and a small company erected a sawmill and began cutting timber for building houses at the site later called Mount Pleasant. Progress also continued to be made at Manti. In November of 1852, Apostle Ezra T. Benson visited Manti and reported that "the citizens have erected a good stone fort in the city, 10 rods square," and "a general spirit of improvement seems to be the order of the day."[10]

As the Mormon population grew and spread northward in the valley, relations with Wakara's Utes steadily deteriorated. The sources of conflict were not uncommon on the American frontier. For their part, the Mormons expected the Utes to drop their native customs and fully accept the civilized ways of the Saints. On the other side, Wakara's people became increasingly alarmed at the newcomers' constantly growing numbers and their seemingly boundless appetite for land.[11] Open warfare broke out between the competing cultures in 1853, with Chief Walkara leading raiding parties against the outlying Mormon settlements. Hamilton's people on Pleasant Creek were driven back to the protection of the small fort at Allred's Settlement. This refuge proved only temporary, for the Utes pressed the attack and in December, the Saints were forced to abandon the fort and fall back, along with Behunnin's people from Pine Creek, to the safety of Manti. In January, the cabins at Allred's Settlement were burned and Wakara's band once again controlled the northern reaches of the valley. The Mormon militia could not entice the Utes into pitched battle, and the general raiding and skirmishing continued indecisively for several years. Wakara died in the spring of 1854 and his brother, Arrapene, weary of war, signed a truce with the Mormons. Arrapene generously consecrated the valley to

the Mormon Church in the following year.

Walker's War, as it was called by the Mormons, slowed but did not halt Mormon growth and expansion in the valley. A new, larger stone fort was erected at Manti during the summer of 1854 and in this year Reuben Allred and fifteen families reoccupied Behunnin's farm on Pine Creek, calling it Ephraim, again, after a city in the Book of Mormon. Many of the Scandinavian Saints who had earlier been driven from Allred's Settlement moved from their cramped quarters in the Manti fort to Ephraim. Here they were joined in the fall by another large company from Denmark, making Ephraim the most Scandinavian of the Sanpete communities. One visitor commented in 1856 that "there are about 80 families here, and 50 of that number speak the Danish language, the remainder being American, English and Welsh."[12] A small fort was hastily erected in 1854 and a larger one in 1855. The generally peaceful conditions that prevailed following the cessation of the Walker War stimulated further expansion northward.

In 1859, James Allred returned to Canal Creek and began there the task of rebuilding the town that now came to be called Spring City. Other Saints moved to establish permanently the town of Mount Pleasant at the site of Hamilton's old sawmill on Pleasant Creek. Here, one pioneer recalled, "the settlers built a fort enclosing about five-and-a-half acres of ground where they lived. It was built of native rock and laid with mortar. The wall was about 12 feet high and the inside of the wall was used for the back wall of the houses, sixteen feet square, with one port hole in each house."[13] The year 1859 also saw townsites founded at Fountain Green and Moroni, thus completing the northward-running chain of settlements through the valley that had

earlier been suggested by the church leadership. Several Mount Pleasant families, desiring more land, moved northward to start the town of North Bend, which was later renamed Fairview. Two years earlier, a Welsh immigrant, John Rees, and several San Pitch tribesmen, discovered a vein of coal in one of the canyons on the west side of the valley. In 1859, Rees returned with fifteen Welsh familes to begin mining operations in what was to be the first coal mine in Utah. Coal from this site, appropriately named Wales, was hauled northward by wagon to Salt Lake City.

After nearly a decade of strained but peaceful coexistence, war once again broke out between the Mormons and the local Utes under their new chief, Black Hawk. Open hostilities began in 1865 and followed much the same pattern as the earlier Walker War. The Utes were skilled raiders and though they could harass and make life uncomfortable for the Mormons, such tactics alone could not stem the tide of occupation. The two smallest communities, Wales and Fairview were abandoned, but only temporarily--the Saints soon returning in numbers sufficient to discourage further direct attacks. The reinforced Mormon militia actively pursued the Utes but were again unable to draw them into the type of battle where their superiority of firepower could become a decisive factor. A stalemate ensued but time was on the side of the Mormons, for with each passing year their strength and numerical dominance in the valley increased. Black Hawk's warriors could roam the mountains, occasionally falling upon an unguarded wagon or unsuspecting traveler, but by the 1860s the valley itself was securely in Mormon control. Black Hawk was ultimately captured and executed and the war that bore his name came to an end with the signing of a treaty in 1869.

The Ute-San Pitch presence in the Sanpete Valley lingered on, but it was not long before most of these people were instructed to remove to the large reservation set aside in the Uintah Basin after 1872.

Despite persisting dangers, the Sanpete communities continued to grow throughout the decade of the 1860s. Church surveyors laid out grid-iron townsites, with settlers drawing lots for ownership of homestead lots on the city blocks. The transition from fort to town life was rapid in each of the communities for few of the Saints found fort living attractive. Joseph Hansen, a Danish immigrant, spoke for many when he wrote in his diary that "to people throughout their lives that had had good, comfortable homes with plenty of the necessities of life this condition must have been very hard to bear."[14] Manti residents had begun moving out onto their city lots as early as 1851, but the general occupation of the plat was not fully effected until the late 1850s.[15] Ephraim was surveyed in 1860 and the movement out into the city occurred shortly thereafter. The shift from fort to city living came later to the communities in the northern valley, but most towns here were platted and occupied by the late-1860s. As soon as possible then families left the protective enclosures of their forts, an exposed condition that led one Church official to remark: "Truly this is a people of great faith; for they rely upon little else for protection. They settle out upon their city lots and farms with all the freedom and apparent sense of security that the people of Illinois and Iowa do upon their prairies."[16] Such concern was hardly justified, or at least, the comparison itself was inappropriate, for the concentrated Sanpete settlements themselves provided a degree of built-in protection that bore little resemblence to the scattered, vulnerable farmsteads of the

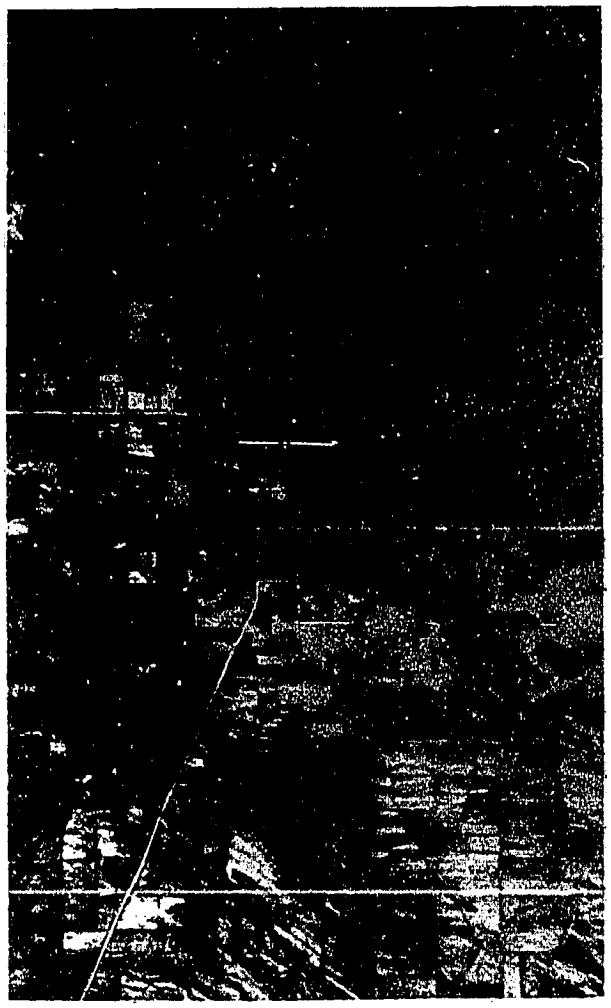


Figure 7: Typical Sanpete Nucleated Town, Ephraim.

Midwestern frontier. When the Saints left their forts, they did not travel far, for as the prophet Joseph Smith had said, it was "the duty of the brethren to come into the cities to build and live, and carry on their farms out of the cities, according to the order of God."[17]

All Sanpete towns then conform to the nucleated structure of the City of Zion plan (Figure 7). Each is different--they vary in the width of their streets, in the acreage of their blocks, and in the number of

Figure 8: Ephraim Meetinghouse, c. 1870.

homestead lots on each block (Manti originally was platted with 8 lots on a block, at Ephraim the number of lots varied, ranging from 4 square lots to as many as 15 irregularly sized lots, while in the rest of the towns the basic 4 lots per block formula prevails), yet transcending these subtle variations is an overriding visual continuity which stems from their initial identity as planned communities.

As they matured in the 1870s and 1880s, the Sanpete towns acquired further similarities. At the heart of each community there was a block set aside for the church meetinghouse. During the first years of settlement, ward meetings had taken place in small, house-like

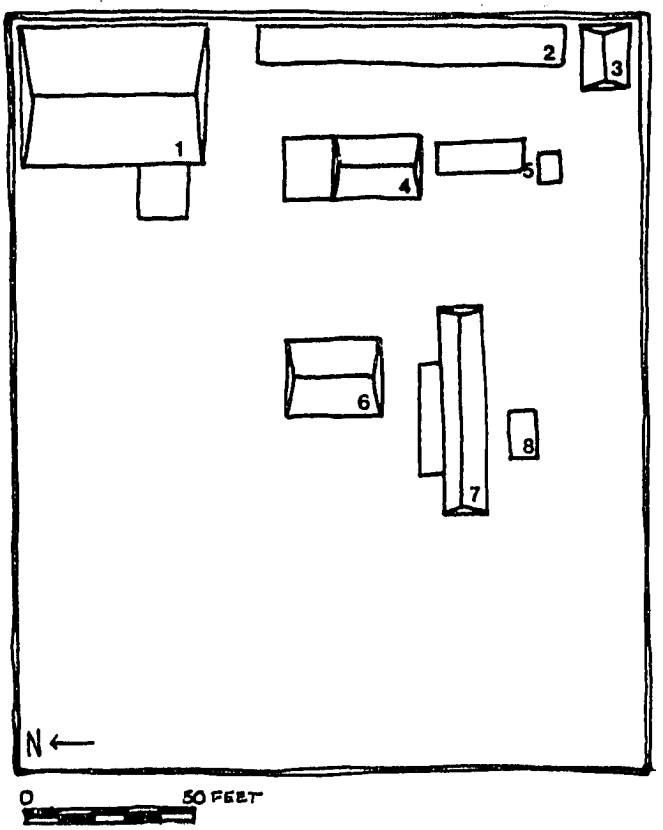


Figure 9: Typical Sanpete Tithing Yard. Block 64 lot 3 Manti City Survey. 1: 2 story stone and frame tithing barn, 2: 1 story frame animal stalls, 3: 1 story frame buildings, 4: 1 story stone storage building with frame additions, 5: 1 story frame buildings, 6: 1 1/2 story stone tithing office, 7: 1 story frame granary, 8: frame building containing scales (1892 Sanborn-Perris Map).

buildings, but by the end of the second decade, newer, more imposing structures were being erected (Figure 8). In their form, Sanpete meetinghouses relected older Colonial designs; they had a basic rectangular plan, a gabled roof, a tower placed centrally on the front, and often displayed an eclectic mixture of Clasical, Gothic, and Mormon decorative motifs.[18] In addition to the ubiquitous meetinghouse block, each town was supplied with a centrally located tithing yard where in-kind tithing was collected and stored (Figure 9). The Church tithing office, barn, and granary became distinctive features of each

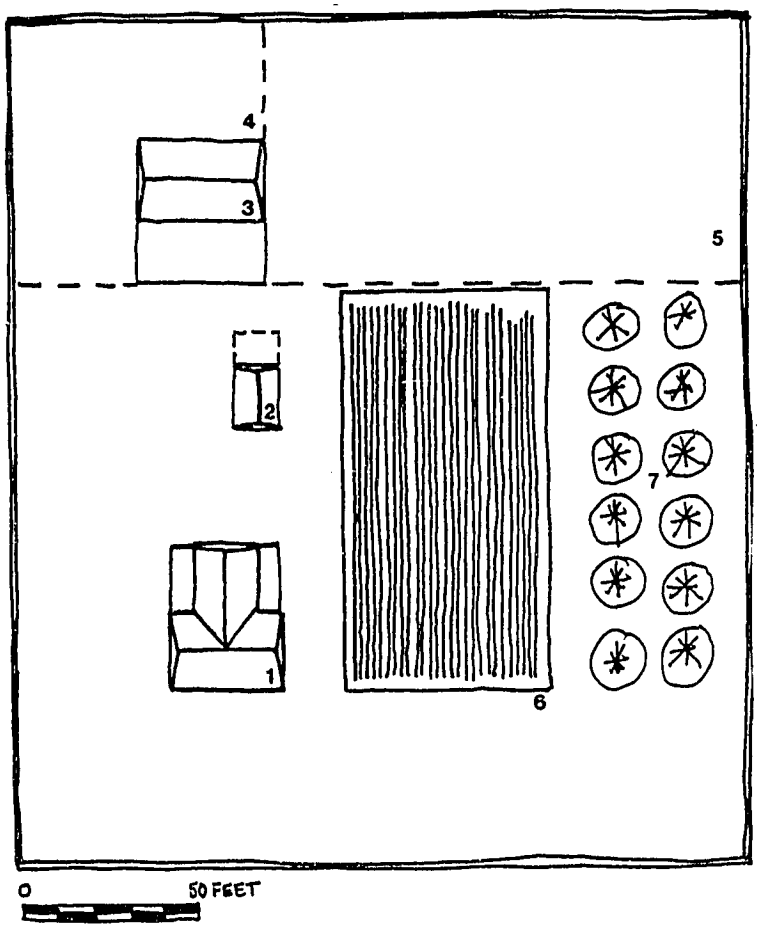


Figure 10: Typical square lot with outbuildings placed behind dwelling, Block 22 lot 3 Spring City Survey. 1: 1 1/2 story stone dwelling, 2: 1 story frame granary, 3: 2 story log hay barn with 1 story frame lean-to animal stable, 4: corral, 5: pasture, 6: vegetable garden, 7: orchard. (1917 Sanborn-Perris Map).

Sanpete town.[19]

Homestead lots throughout the valley also display a degree of morphological uniformity. Barns, granaries, and other farm-related outbuilings were contained on the city lot. The arrangement of these structures generally followed a pattern that can be described as a polarity between the two principal structures of the homestead, namely, the house and the barn.[20] The most prominent location was reserved for the house. On square lots--by far the most commonly encountered

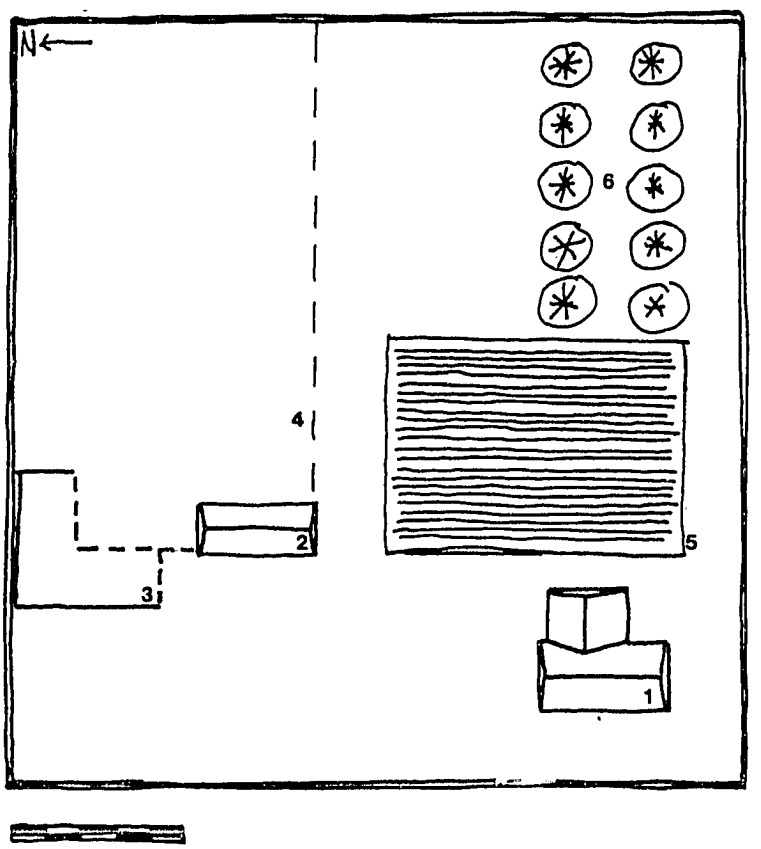


Figure 11: Homestead, Block 38, lot 2, Manti City Survey, showing outbuildings arranged to the side of the dwelling house. 1: 1 story stone dwelling, 2: frame outbuilding, 3: 1 story stone stock shelter with straw roof, 4: corral and pasture, 5: vegetable garden, 6: orchard. (1892 Sanborn-Perris Map)

type of Sanpete city lot--the house was invariably located on the corner closest to where the streets intersected. Given the size of the blocks, this practice lent a "crossroads" neighborhood quality to the city intersections. The corner location of the house also caused an certain ambiguity in the frontality of the dwelling; since two elevations were conspicuouly displayed, the house could be perceived as facing either of

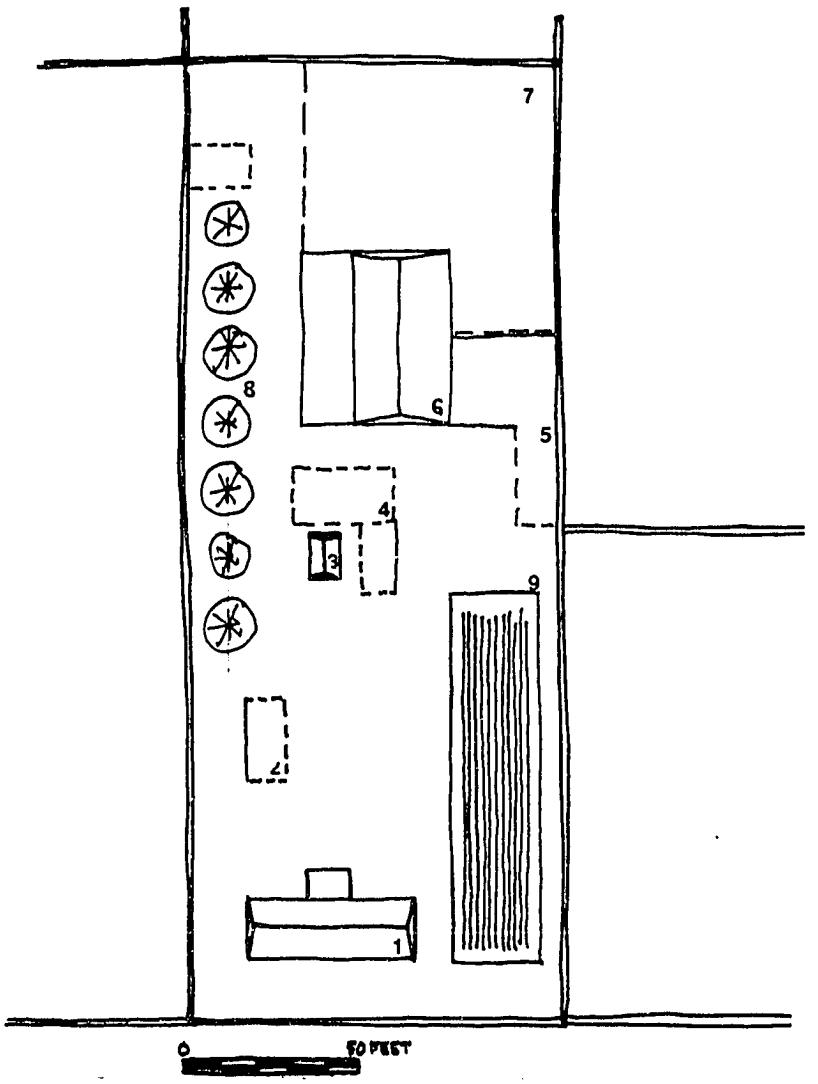


Figure 12: Rectangular city lot with outbuildings arranged behind dwelling house, Block 28 lot 7 Ephraim City Survey. 1: 1 1/2 story adobe house, 2: 1 story frame shed, 3: adobe outhouse, 4: 1 story pole shed with straw roof, 5: 1 story pole shed with straw roof, 6: 2 story frame hay barn with lean-to aninal stable, 7: corral and pasture, 8: orchard, 9: vegetable garden. (1892 Sanborn Perris Map).

two directions. On rectangular lots the situation was more straightforward, with the house simply placed on the front directly facing the street. Barns were built at the point on the lot farthest away from the house, with the granary and other buildings being constructed in between. This arrangement allowed an unobstructed view

of the farmyard from the house. Two main types of square homesteads exist: On one, the barn is located to the rear of the house (Figure 10), and on the other, the barn is placed to the side (Figure 11). The choice of barn placement was obviously restricted on the rectangular lots, where the narrow width of the homestead dictated that it be built in a line behind the house (Figure 12).

By the late 1860s, the pioneering phase of Sanpete Valley's history was largely completed and a new one had begun.[21] The years between about 1870 and 1890 may be considered the halcyon days of Mormon Kingdom building in the valley--a period of time when the Saints here enjoyed the freedom to transform ideals into action. It was at this juncture that the valley most closely resembled Redfield's folk society.[22] The concentrated village settlement pattern was distinctive; the agrarian economy--based upon a system of small-holdings and grain production--was largely self-sufficient; the valley's size and physical isolation gave it an extended sense of community identity; and it was, certainly, religiously homogeneous. It was also at this time that the valley laid legitimate claim to its title, Stake of Zion.

If the term "landscape" can be used here to mean "shaped land, land modified for permanent human occupation,"[23] the Sanpete landscape is unmistakeably a Mormon landscape. The signature of Zion is indelibly written upon the valley. In an early revelation, God told Joseph Smith, "Behold, mine house is a house of order,...and not of confusion."[24] During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the Sanpete Valley was indeed a "house of order," a physical and social world brought under strict control. The land here was shaped, not randomly, but with purpose and skill. This was an orderly, geometric world of farms,

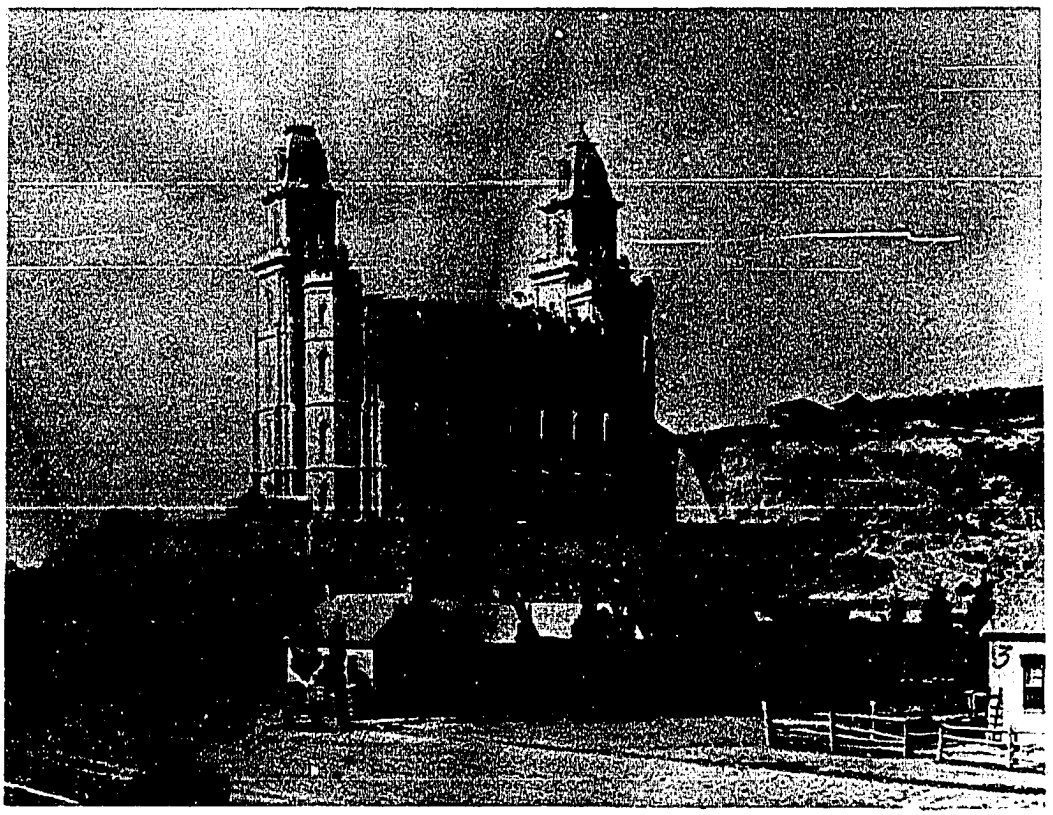


Figure 13: The Manti Temple Nearing Completion, c.1887.

towns, and homesteads, a place where the temporal objectives of Mormon Kingdom Building--at least in terms of the material Zion--came close to realization. The crowning achievement in this Kingdom building process was the erection of a temple on the hill above Manti.

As mentioned earlier, the gathering of the Mormon Zion was undertaken with the express purpose of preparing the earth for the expected Second Coming of Christ. When everything was ready, Christ would descend to earth and abide during the millennium. From this millenarian doctrine emerged the concept of the temple--the sacred place

reserved both for the earthly reception of the Son of God at the advent of the millennium and for the continued communion between man and deity during the premillennial dispensation of time.[25] God had revealed "That my covenant people may be gathered in one in that day when I come to my temple" and thus, the final act in preparing Zion would be the erection of a "House of the Lord" as "the specific link in the Mormon Kingdom between heaven and earth and between the present period of earth's history and the millennium."[26]

President Brigham Young dedicated the site for the Manti Temple in 1874 and work began three years later.[27] For over a decade the full resources of the valley were marshalled for the task of completing this monumental structure. It was a massive undertaking and one that was executed collectively, that is, the materials and labor for building the temple were largely donated by the members of the Sanpete Stake. Designed in what has been described as "Castellated Gothic" style by Truman Angell and William Folsom, the Manti Temple is architecturally distinguished by its elegant Second Empire cupolas. Standing majestically above Manti, looking eastward toward the dawn of the resurrection morning, the temple remains the supreme symbol of the Saints' effort toward bringing about the fulfillment of latter-day prophecy. Yet even in 1888 as the dedication ceremony of the building began, stormclouds of change were sweeping over the valley. The completion of the Manti Temple effectively signaled the end of the Kingdom building years in Sanpete.

The closing years of the nineteenth century in Mormon Utah can best be understood in terms of what French historians have recently been inclined to call "conjuncture," a short period of historical time

characterized by crisis and change.[28] After about 1880, the Mormons found themselves forced to confront issues which had been forgotten or ignored during the exigencies of pioneering a new land. As the frontier period came to a close, it became increasingly clear that the same old issues that had plagued the Kingdom in the east were indeed alive and well in the Great Basin.[29] The separation of church and state, the practice of the doctrine of plural marriage, economic competition between Mormons and Gentiles, communitarian ideals versus personal ambitions--all were problems that the Church had faced before and had generally circumvented by moving to another location. In the waning years of the nineteenth century, however, there was no place left to go. Zion had been established in the Rocky Mountains and as pressure for change intensified, decisions had to be made between maintaining the distinctive principles of the church and preserving the institution of the church itself. In the end, Church leaders chose the latter course--Mormonism survived but it was a changed religion. The Church abdicated its direct role in government affairs, the principle of polygamy, so vital to the concept of restoring the ancient church to the earth, was disavowed, Mormon and Gentile merchants joined forces in the capitalization of the economy, and the communitarian programs of the United Order were abandoned.[30] In 1896, Utah was admitted to the Union and the Kingdom Building phase of Mormon history came to an end.

In the Sanpete Valley, the sweeping changes of the period were felt perhaps less directly than in the metropolitan area of Salt Lake City, but change occurred nonetheless. Rival political parties sprang up where before there had been only a Church party.[31] Polygamists ceased being arrested and were seen building small, separate homes for their

plural wives.[32] Main street, once the sole possession of the church buildings and cooperative stores, was now dominated by rows of stores and offices.[33] Agriculture in the valley, for 30 years devoted to small-holding self-sufficiency, now became increasingly diversified and cash-crop oriented.[34] A boom in the local livestock industry paved the way for the creation of a new economic elite.[35] In all phases of Sanpete life, private enterprise replaced cooperation and individual concerns preempted those of the community.

Such changes should not eclipse the achievements of Sanpete's early Kingdom building years. The land had been wrested from the Ute and San Pitch bands, towns had been established, meetinghouses constructed, and homesteads occupied. The spirit which characterized this period of the valley's history is best summed up in an 1872 article which ran in the Deseret News, the Church sponsored newspaper: "..dwelling houses are being reared in all directions, and almost all have enlarged their granaries, having raised more grain than ever...the meetings are well attended as an evidence of their general good character and desire to build up the Kingdom of God.""[36]

The People

The first settlers in Sanpete were largely drawn from the initial Mormon Great Basin settlements at Salt Lake City and Centerville. These individuals reflected the New England--Midwest origins of the majority of the LDS Church membership. Issac Morley, John Lowry, Titus Billings, George Bradley, Jezreel Shoemaker--such men and their families came to Manti in the fall of 1849. The cultural make-up of the valley was soon

to change, for the influx of immigrants, the vast majority from the Scandinavian Countries, began in 1853. Census figures record the change in the population.[37]

In 1850, the valley consisted of only American-born settlers. By 1860, the population stood at 3815, but now only about 60% were born in the United States and 40% listed foreign countries as their place of birth. By 1870, this pattern of ethnic diversity was firmly established, the census takers reporting a 57% American, 43% foreign composition.

Using the 1870 figures--the median year covered by this study--the foreign population of 2896 may be broken down into specific nationalities. By far the greatest number, 1641 (57%), were Danish, the next largest group, 624 (22%) were from the British Isles, 476 (16%) were from Norway and Sweden, and the remaining numbers included immigrants from Canada, Ireland, Scotland, Germany, France, and Switzerland. Each Sanpete town had its own mixture of peoples.

Manti in 1870 had 241 households inventoried by the census.[38] Of these, the largest number, 102 (42%) were Scandinavian, 52 (22%) were British, and 75 (31%) were American. Of the 52 British households, 39 were English with the remaining number being divided among Scots, Irish, and Welsh. In the 75 American households, 32 were occupied by New Englanders, 27 by people from the Midwest, 10 were held by Southerners, while the remaining 6 were headed by Pennsylvanians.

Manti's four ecclesiastical wards displayed an uneven distribution of nationalities. The First and Third Wards reflected the general composition of the the town's total population--40% Scandinavian, 20% British, and 30% American. However, the Second Ward was predominantly

American and the Fourth Ward was decisively Scandinavian, with Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians totalling more than 68% of the households counted.

Ephraim was certainly the most Scandinavian of the Sanpete towns. Of the 245 occupied households in 1870, 168 (69%) were Danish, 30 households (12%) were Swedish, and 14 (6%) were Norwegian. There were only 33 non-Scandinavian households, these being roughly equally divided between British and American Saints. The town of Wales, true to its name, was a town of Welsh immigrants. In 1870, there were only 16 families residing here, but 10 were from Wales while another 4 were from England. There were only two American-born families. The other towns--Chester, Fairview, Fountain Green, Moroni, Mount Pleasant, and Sterling--more or less display the percentages found in Manti--three main groups continued to be British, American, and Scandinavian. The following list of the nationality of Spring City's households in 1870 perhaps best illustrates the diversity of the Sanpete population.

Place of Birth	Number of Households
Canada	2
Wales	1
England	17
Sweden	5
Norway	3
Denmark	42
Tennessee	6
Kentucky	2
North Carolina	2
Arkansas	2
Illinois	8
Missouri	4
Iowa	2
Ohio	2
Indiana	1
New York	6
Massachusetts	1
New Jersey	1
Connecticut	1

Sanpete Valley has often been called "Little Scandinavia," and while it seems that a better name would be "Little Denmark," the designation is appropriate for the Northern European immigrant population here was proportionately very large. But the reality was that no one group, neither the Yankees, the British, nor the Scandinavians, clearly dominated. In the nineteenth century, the Sanpete Valley existed as a multi-cultural society bound together by a committment to building up the Kingdom of God in Utah.

Chapter III

Notes

1. See Eugene E. Campbell, "The Mormon Migration to Utah," in Utah's History, ed. by. Richard D. Poll (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1978), 113-115; Allen and Leonard, The Story of the Latter-day Saints, 208-210; and Arrington and Bitton, the Mormon Experience, 95-96. Campbell quotes a letter from the church leadership explaining that "our pioneers are instructed to proceed West until they find a good place to make a crop, in some good valley in the neighborhood of the Rocky Mountains, where they will infringe on no one, and be not likely to be infringed upon" (p.114).

2. The motives behind colonization are intrinsically tied to Brigham Young's dream for a Mormon western empire call the State of Deseret. See Roberts, Comprehensive History of the Church, 475-498; Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, 84-88; and Milton Hunter, Brigham Young the Colonizer (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1940).

3. Glassie, Folk Housing in Middle Virginia, 114-115.

4. Don R. Murphy, "Physiographic Provinces," in Atlas of Utah, 17.

5. See Albert C.T. Antrei and Ruth Scow, The Other Forty-Niners: A Topical History of Sanpete County, Utah (Salt Lake City: Western Epics, 1982), 7-24.

6. I have extracted the following historical outline from several standard works, see Gary Topping, "Sanpete County History," unpublished manuscript, Utah State Historical Society, 1980; Antrei and Scow, The Other Forty-Niners; W.H. Lever, The History of Sanpete and Emery Counties (Ogden, Utah: W.H. Lever, 1898); and Daughters of the Utah Pioneers of Sanpete County, Utah, These...Our Fathers: A Centennial History of Sanpete County, 1849 to 1947 (Springville, Utah: Art City Publishing, 1947).

7. Antrei and Scow, The Other Forty-Niners, 130-131.

8. Andrew Jenson, History of the Sanpete Stake, photocopy of typescript, Library-Archives, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, hereafter cited as the LDS Church Archives.

9. Christian Nielson, Diary, typescript, LDS Church Archives.

10. Jenson, History of the Sanpete Stake.

11. Antrei and Scow, The Other Forty-Niners, 135-136.

12. Andrew Jenson, Manuscript History of the Ephraim Ward, photocopy of typescript, LDS Church Archives.

13. Maria Wilhelmina Catharina Krause Madsen, Biography, photocopy of typescript, Utah State Historical Society Collections, 8.

14. Joseph Hansen, Family History, LDS Church Archives, 14.

15. Church Consecration Records for Manti for the 1855-1858 period indicate that only 6 of the 124 individuals deeding property to the Church listed improved land--including houses and corrals--outside of the three Manti forts. See, Book B, Deeds, Recorder's Office, Sanpete County Courthouse. For an overview of the consecration movement of the 1850s, see Arrington, Fox, and May, Building the City of God, 63-78.

16. Jenson, History of the Sanpete Stake.

17. Quoted in May, "Mormon Town," 76.

18. There is no comprehensive history of LDS Church architecture. The best summary to date is found in Allen D. Roberts, "Religious Architecture of the LDS Church: Influences and Changes Since 1847," Utah Historical Quarterly, 45:3 (Summer 1975): 301-327. An attempt to look specifically at the architectural history of the Sanpete Valley is contained in Tom Carter, "A Hierarchy of Architectural Values," in Antrei and Scow, The Other Forty-Niners, 457-488.

19. Roberts, "Religious Architecture," 308, Carter, "Hierarchy," 469-470.

20. I am following here Olsen, Settlement Imagery and Farmstead Morphology, 20-53.

21. Antrei and Scow, The Other Forty-Niners, 25-74.

22. Robert Redfield, The Little Community and Peasant Society and Culture (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), 1-16.

23. John. P. Stilgoe, Common Landscape of America, 1580-1845 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 3.

24. Quoted in Arrington, Fox, and May, Building the City of God, 2.

25. See Olsen, "Zion," 23; C. Mark Hamilton, "The Salt Lake Temple: A Symbolic Statement of Mormon Doctrine," in The Mormon People: Their Character and Traditions, Charles Redd Monographs in Western History, 10, ed. by Thomas G. Alexander (Provo: Brigham University Press, 1980), 103-127; Andrew, The Early Temples, 11-28; and Mark P. Leone, "The New Mormon Temple in Washington, D.C.," in Historic Archaeology and the Importance of Material Things, Special Publication Series, Number 2, ed. by Leland Ferguson (Society for Historical Archaeology, 1977), 43-61.

26. Olsen, "Zion," 23.

27. The best general description of the building of the Manti Temple is found in Andrew, The Early Temples, 174-190. See also, Paul L. Anderson, "William Harrison Folsom: Pioneer Architect," Utah Historical Quarterly, 45:3 (Summer 1975): 252-259.

28. See Fernand Braudel, On History (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 29-30.

29. See Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, 235-379.

30. Ibid., 340-379.

31. Antrei and Scow, The Other Forty-Niner's, 38-39.

32. This pattern is particularly apparent in Spring City, where after 1890 several leading polygamists built small dwellings for their plural wives to avoid the implications of cohabitation. See Tom Carter, Spring City Historic District, National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form, Utah State Historical Society, 1979.

33. The emergence of downtown commercial districts in the valley is documented in Allen Roberts, The Mount Pleasant Commercial District, National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form, Utah State Historical Society, 1978, and Tom Carter, Ephraim Main Street Historic District, National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form, Utah State Historical Society, 1978.

34. See, Charles S. Peterson, "The 'Americanization' of Utah's Agriculture," Utah Historical Quarterly, 42:2 (Spring 1974): 108-125.

35. The livestock boom of the late nineteenth century is chronicled in Everett H. Mecham, "The History of the Sheep Industry in Utah" (Master's Thesis, University of Utah, 1925).

36. Jenson, History of the Sanpete Stake.

37. Seventh Census of the United States, Population of the United States in 1850 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office), Eighth Census of the United States, Population of the United States in 1860 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1964), and Population and Social Statistics of the United States in 1870 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1872).

38. Manuscript Census of the United States, 1870.

Chapter IV

Building Good Houses

Mormon planning in the Sanpete Valley reflected a type of environmental determinism common to most nineteenth century utopian groups. Since social life was believed to be directly shaped by the community's physical form, particular communitarian values such as cooperation and unity were advanced through the implementation of a nucleated settlement pattern. Feeling that private space naturally inspired separatism and anti-social behavior, utopian groups often adopted communal forms of domestic architecture as well.[1] For the Mormons, however, social planning stopped at the level of the stewardship--the homestead--and the prevailing residential unit continued to be the single-family dwelling.[2] While there were statements by some of the early Church leaders that revealed an appreciation of the affecting qualities of housing, no specific design recommendations were offered. Remarks by Brigham Young in 1860 are indicative of the official line on housing:

> Good houses are comfortable and very convenient, and please our feelings, and are tolerably healthful when properly ventilated. If we cannot raise grain, raise houses, and build the best houses we can think of. If you are going to do a good deed, do as good a one as you can think of. If you wish to build a house, build as good a one as you can imagine.[3]

The message to the brethren, then, was to build solid, attractive houses. It was a theme that echoed in the halls of meetinghouses throughout the state, but one which remained constant at the level of

generality.

As the Sanpete communities grew in the years between 1850 and 1870, the demand for housing became a fundamental aspect of social life in the valley. In meeting their housing needs, the Sanpete Saints, like their counterparts in other sections of the Mormon region, were left to their own devices. Confronting the building task, they turned naturally to the building traditions carried into the valley. It should be emphasized that tradition provided the settlers, not with houses, but with the knowledge to design and build houses. How this knowledge was applied--what houses were actually built--is central to the purpose of this study. Did immigrant patterns persist? Did new forms arise? Did a particular "Mormon" style of architecture emerge? These questions have been asked repeatedly but never adequately answered. An architectural record, however, exists and any explanation of LDS building activity during the nineteenth century must begin, not in speculations about the culture, but with the houses themselves. My intention in this chapter and the two that follow is to describe the folk housing of the Sanpete Valley in an effort to discover what people here did when they built houses. The range of their actions bears directly on the larger issue of understanding cultural process in the early Mormon town.

House Form: The Structure of Design

Moving out to their newly platted city lots, the people of the Sanpete Valley contemplated building, as their leader had suggested, "good houses." If the enterprise appears vague and ill-defined, it was

Figure 14: John Blain house, Spring City. This house effectively illustrates the nineteenth century folk architectural aesthetic: it is a self-contained geometric unit; its components are arranged symmetrically; and it displays an obvious, if eclectic, concern for fashion. In this case, Greek Revival cornice returns and pedimented window heads are successfully combined with Gothic Revival elements such as the centrally placed cross-gable and turned finials.

nevertheless understandable to the early Mormon settlers, for by the mid-nineteenth century particular Renaissance-derived ideas about how a house should look had become universally accepted throughout the Western World. Whether they came from Denmark, Wales, or Missouri, the Saints arrived in the valley with a set of deeply held presuppositions about what building good houses meant.[4] Architectural correctness was calculated in the valley in terms of <u>form</u>, the house would be a free-standing, geometric block; <u>symmetry</u>, it would be composed of balanced external components; and, finally, <u>style</u>, it would be decorated

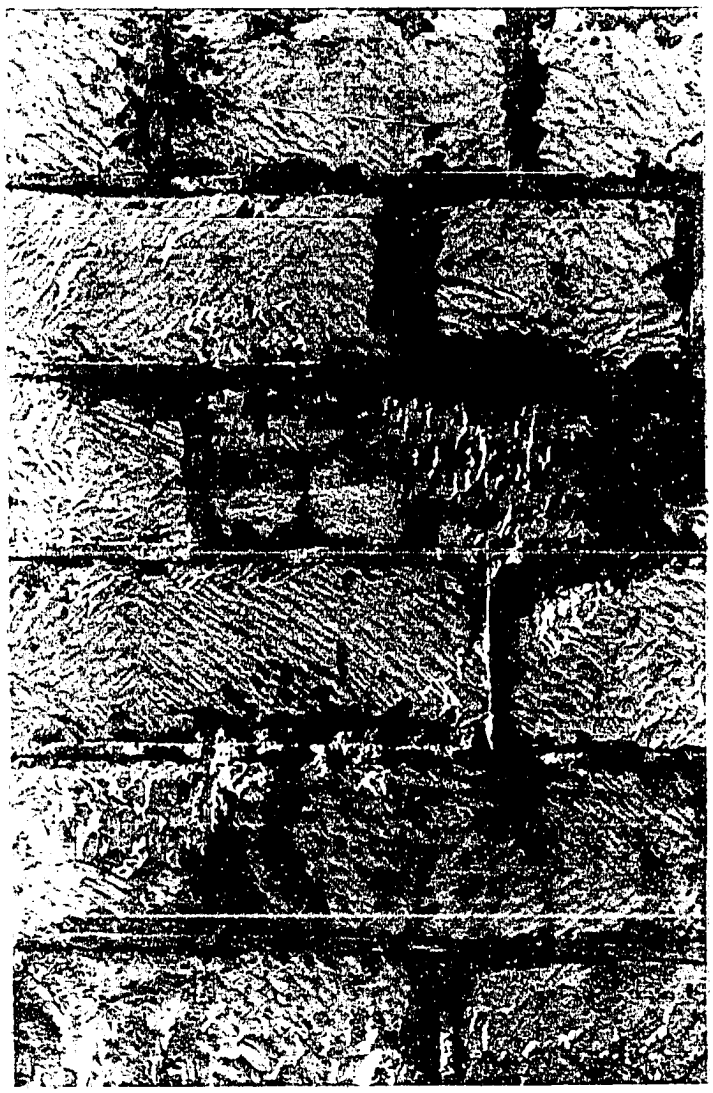


Figure 15: Coursed ashlar limestone wall, Charles Crawforth house, Spring City [07-51]

with ornaments of the latest fashion (Figure 14).[5] Size and the treatment of materials, i.e., the technique whereby natural substances were converted into useable building materials, were other aesthetic constants. In the nineteenth century, as it is today, it was generally considered that bigger houses were "better" houses due both to their expense and their visual complexity. In terms of materials, while

technical competence was a factor--some builders were more skilled than others, a premium was bestowed upon wall surfaces that were treated, as the architectural historian Hugh Morrison has noted, "'artifically' (from the standpoint of materials employed) to gain desired effects of pattern and composition."[6] The "desired effect" was for the geometric regularity of the house form to be repeated and reiterated in the way materials were used. The right angle, self-consciously inorganic, helped separate the human from the natural world[7] and a great deal of effort in the Sanpete Valley was devoted to making the irregularies of nature into the geometry of man (Figure 15).[8] The architectural asethetic evident in the valley was one that emphasized form, symmetrical repetition, and geometric order. Within the parameters of this outwardly rigid building tradition, there was considerable room for individual variation; this kind of flexibility is not unique to the Sanpete Valley, but rather, the dialogue between the constancy of the symmetrical house form and the vicissitudes of external ornamentation remains a fundamental concept in most current definitions of folk architecture.[9]

Although they came from many different parts of the United States and northern Europe, Sanpete house carpenters worked within an architectural tradition that provided them with a conceptual model of the completed house. This working prototype was the self-contained, symmetrical block. How this ideal was to be achieved, however, remained a problem that had to be solved on an individual basis. The folk builder, like any architect, had to look for ways to translate ideas about correct house form into real houses. If the gross architectural structure was known, the particulars still had to be filled in. The

house had to be strong and all its pieces had to fit together. It had to be affordable. How much money one had to spend was an important consideration when comtemplating the finished product. The components of the houses had to be chosen and then appropriately executed. Finally, the house was to be used, so the arrangement of its internal plan had to conform to the client and his or her society's concepts of suitable room use and privacy. At each juncture of the building process decisions had to be made, made often, and for each house. In short, the folk building tradition was not one involving the simple repetition of known examples; it was, rather, one where design ordered aesethetic and functional needs into an attractive and workable whole.[10] In a series of important articles, Henry Glassie has explored the mechanics of the folk designing process and his writings become a useful means of understanding how Sanpete builders worked.

Glassie's work, influenced by the structural linguistics of Noam Chomsky, suggests that makers of folk artifacts are equipped with a system of design that approximates the deep ordering capabilities of language itself.[11] It is natural, he writes, to compare spoken language with other aspects of human behavior for "language is one of the expressions of culture, not the expression of culture."[12] People make complex things like sentences or houses by first learning and then applying the rules for combining their constituents, whether they be the words of the sentence or the components of the house. Such constituent elements may be identified and described independently, but it is the rules for their combination, the grammar, that structures them into meaningful statements of form. "The problem for the linguist," writes Chomsky, "is to determine from the data of performance the underlying

system of rules that has been mastered by the speaker-hearer and that he puts to use in actual performance."[13] Similarly, Glassie contends, students of artifacts must work from observeable things to "create a systematic model that accounts for the design ability of an idealized maker--a sort of artifactual grammar."[14] In order to be learned and effectively used by people, such a rule system must by nature be closed, for it is the shared knowledge of a fixed set of rules which in the end allows communication. It is obvious, however, that neither all sentences nor all houses are the same, and therefore, however circumscribed, a grammar must also allow for creativity. It is in this area that the theories of Chomsky are particularly important to the student of artifacts.[15]

Among modern linguists, it is Chomsky who has most directly addressed the issue of creativity in language, that is, the speaker's ability to produce a potentially infinite number of sentences from a finite vocabulary and a finite set of rules.[16] In Chomsky's view, an adequate grammar would not attempt to describe all the sentences of a language, of which there are indefinite number, but one that gives the rules for generating the sentences of that language. Linguistic "competence," the speakers knowlege of the language, allows new sentences to be created that will be nevertheless understandable because they adhere to the formal regularities of the grammar. Chomsky described linguistic competence as a series of transformations moving from the deep structure of minimal units to the surface structure of the complex sentence. The speaker is able, by using rules of concatenation, to produce simple linear strings, what Chomsky calls "kernal sentences." From this level of base concepts, transforming rules are

applied that generate the sentences in the language.[17] Chomsky's emphasis on the creative, generative aspect of grammar must be noted. Justin Leiber, in a useful introduction to Chomsky's thought, has written that "though the most usual label for Chomsky's general sort of linguistics is 'transformational-generative-linguistics,' the most crucial word is 'generative' as opposed to 'taxonomical'--since the primary concern is with the 'principles and processes by which sentences are constrcuted in particular languages, not with the identification and classification of items found in the surface end product of these principles and processes."[18]

The creative, compositional activity outlined in Chomsky's language theory figures prominently in Glassie's approach to artifactual analysis. He suggested in an early article on New York State barns that:

> The speaker can produce sentences in infinite variety, and they are comprehensible because speaker and hearer share a finite vocabulary and a finite number of linguistic rules for innovation. Similarly, the builder can produce a novel form that another person knows how to use immediately because builder and user share deeply a set of rules concerning form that allows them to understand and utilize the buildings produced according to the rules. Without belaboring the linguistic analogy, it would appear that there are base concepts in material culture that are complex models of a specific relationship--structure--of numerous components. The base concept is accompanied by rules for its alteration.[19]

In the article which sets forth his thinking most clearly, "Structure and Function: Folklore and the Artifact," Glassie more directly draws the parallel between language and objects in noting that "at the lowest level of organization--at a level comparable to that on which Chomsky's kernal sentences may be found--there are base concepts that are specific structures of geometric entities to which designing rules are applied in order to derive the structure of specific components--the types--of which actual artifacts are examples."[20] By shifting artifactual

description from ad hoc classification to design, Glassie is able to order his field data in a way that recognizes types--the composite statements of similar things--while at the same time exploring the mental system which accounts for them.[21]

Given the predominance of form in Western architectural thinking, it is not surprising that the minimal unit in folk building would be the geometric entity--the structural underpining of the independent block. The geometric unit--the square, then, is combined with other squares and parts of squares to form the base concepts, the ground plans, which are transformed through design into real houses. From the level of the base concept, Glassie suggests three principal sets of rules that figure in the composition of the house.[22] First, there are the rules that pertain to the orientation of the roof. The axis of the roof is related to the axis of the base concept; it may be either parallel or perpendicular. Second, the three-dimensional volume of the base concept is massed and pierced. This move involves determining the placement of specific components within the symmetrical format. Massing is tripartite, with either a door or chimney occupying the central position on the block. Piercing rules for doors and windows dictate that whether the centering device is a door or a chimney, the flanking units will be identically pierced in order to maintain the prescribed external balance. Finally, the base concept is expanded. Glassie includes rules for doubling the base concept upward or to the rear. "All buildings," he concludes, "are products of geometric entities ordered into base concepts, extended into space, roofed, massed, and pierced."[23] In the seminal Folk Housing in Middle Virginia, Glassie applied this generative design model to a set of traditional buildings and was effectively able

to describe the system that created the 16 main types of houses built in the study area.[24]

Glassie's studies have opened a new frontier in material culture research[25] and become a point of departure for this description of the folk housing of the Sanpete Valley. The application of Glassie's analytical model is suggested first and foremost by the Sanpete buildings themselves. The systematic recording of the ground plans of the houses in the valley reveals that all are the combinations of a closed set of geometric units, with the square being conspicuously present in all the houses.[26] The figures that emerge from the measurements clearly place the local building competence within a geometrical system. The basic architectural units found here may be described according to their proportions (width and depth): There is the square itself in the ratio, 1:1; there is a rectangle larger than the square displaying the ratio, 4:5 (square plus one-quarter square); and then there are three rectangles smaller than the square in the ratios 3:4 (three-quarters square), 2:3 (two-thirds square), and $1:\sqrt{2}$ (less than one-half square). Such proportions are perhaps historically predictable for they are deeply embedded in the architectural theories of such Renaissance architects as Andrea Palladio.

Borrowing a sense of "symmetry in plan and elevation" from the classical world, sixteenth century Italian architects devised an architectural style around the principles of harmonic proportion.[27] Andrea Palladio, one of the most influential of these architects, preferred the ratios 1:1, $1:\sqrt{2}$, 3:4, 2:3, 3:5, and 1:2--ratios that produced what he felt to be the "most beautiful and well proportioned shapes of rooms."[28] In the Palladian tradition, it was the

fundamental relationships between these shapes that ordered the whole--the geometric block.[29] In the centuries that followed, the classical designs associated with Palladian architecture gradually swept aside the Gothicism of Medieval Europe. Renaissance principles first surfaced in England during the seventeenth century in the works of such architects as Ignio Jones and Christopher Wren.[30] In the English Renaissance, or as it is more commonly known, Georgian Style, "the isolated horizontal block is the house, complete and self-contained. There are...no interruptions of the horizontal line."[31] Palladian ideas also flowed northward across the continent, surfacing in the Scandianvian countries during the early eighteenth century. Here too, the symmetrical house became the form favored by the nobility and lesser bourgeoisie.[32] The Georgian house, the double-pile, symmetrical block, found its way in the late eighteenth century to the American colonies as well. It first appeared in specific American works by the noted English architect, Christopher Wren, but in subsequent years became the housing standard for both city and country builders from Maine to South Carolina.[33] In the form of a single-pile, central passageway, two story house--called by most students of American architecture the "I house," the Georgian architectural influence held sway in America for more than 150 years.[34]

Proportion too seems to have survived the Atlantic crossing, where the older Palladian ratios continued to exert their influence on builders of every region and social class. The proper size of rooms--the "true proportions"--had long ceased to be a function of Renaissance formulas and had been fully assimilated into the folk builder's rules of practical carpentry. Marcus Whiffen's study of the

houses of Williamsburg showed the older ratios in operation but noted that "on the aesthetic side, one may be sure that the geometrical figures which regulated design were still felt to have an inherent superiority, even if the proofs of that superiority advanced by earlier theorists were forgotten."[35] In fact, though he chose not to do so, the houses Henry Glassie recorded in Piedmont Virginia could be explained proportionally as well.

At the heart of the Virginian's architectural competence, Glassie identified five principal building shapes defined in terms of adding and substracting units of length (cubits) from the square. Identified by letter designations, these shapes were the square, X; the rectangle Z, the square plus one or one-and-a-half unit; the rectangle, Y^1, the square minus one unit; the rectangle, Y^2, the square minus two units; and the rectangle, Y^3, the square minus two-and-a-half or three units.[36] Using Glassie's 15 foot square as the base figure, it is possible to describe these shapes as a series of proportions, the square unit X being in the ratio 1:1 (1X), the Z shape, 4:5 (1.2X), Y^1, 3:4 (.8X), Y^2, 2:3 (.6), and Y^3, $1:\sqrt{2}$ (.4X). The fact that Glassie chose a modular system for arriving at the building shapes, where the dimensions of the house are stated in terms of a measuring unit which is multiplied or divided to give the correct dimensions,[37] in no way detracts from the proportional nature of the shapes themselves and in fact serves to accentuate the conceptual tenacity of the older Palladian ratios. In the Sanpete Valley, the extreme variation of the actual house measurements makes Glassie's modular system of shape relations unworkable. A geometrical system where the "dimensions are derived from a line or a given length by constructing upon it one or more geometrical

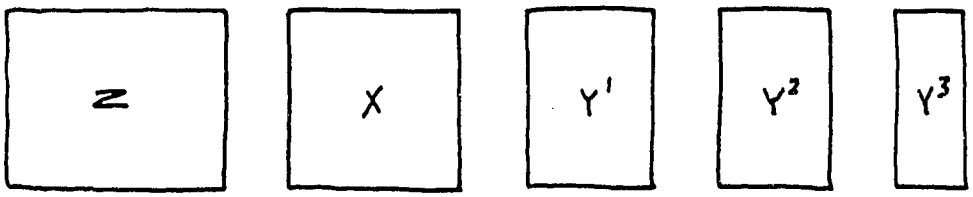


Figure 16: Geometric Units used in designing Sanpete Valley Houses.

figures," may have been employed by the builders here to arrive at the minimal units.[38] Yet whether the actual process be arithmetical or geometrical, the end results, the basic shapes for rooms, were the same. The similarity between the Virginia and Sanpete figures is worth emphasizing and for this reason I have chosen to use Glassie's letter designations in this work (Figure 18). From this geometrical repertoire, the base structures of Sanpete Valley folk housing many be described.

The design process began with combining the squares and rectangles into ground plans or base structures. Two different systems were used in the valley for connecting geometric units. The first is a binary construct, which may consist of a single shape, but cannot be composed of more than two units (figure 17). This basic one or two room system is firmly rooted in Anglo-American tradition and the houses generated from these structures are principally traceable to the British Isles and the Eastern United States.[39] Within this binary format, there are eight base concepts: two are single-cell houses, X and Z; three consist

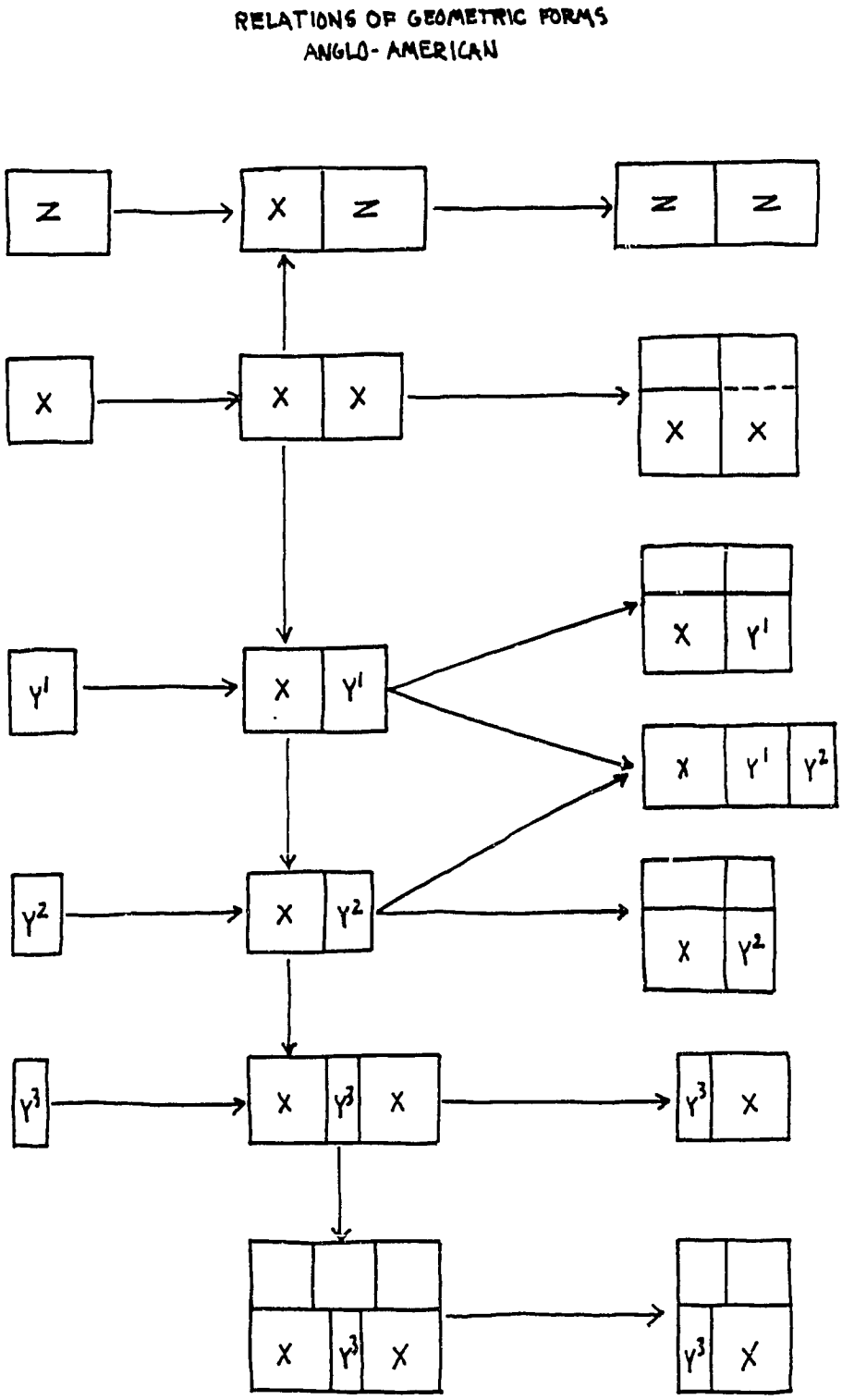


Figure 17: Combining the Geometric Units, I.

of two unequally sized units--a square plus a rectangle, XY^2, XY^1, and XZ; there is one that contains two squares, XX; and finally, two equal sized rooms may be intersected by a passageway to yield the XY^3X string. In this system, the Y^3 unit is always a passageway. There is one exception to the two-room wide restriction, that is the XY^1Y^2 base structure which is formed by adding the Y^2 unit to the XY^1 combination. Though in effect three rooms wide, the XY^1Y^2 sequence must be viewed as a linear extension of the XY^1 string and is therefore "ungrammatical" in the sense that the complete form cannot be symmetrical; the center point of the house remains in the XY^1 combination and therefore the Y^2 unit lies outside the conceptual boundaries of the competence and cannot conform to the normal rules for massing and piercing. In this respect it is radically different from the second method of combining geometric units found in the valley which, although it is based upon a three room wide sequence, is capable of incorporating all the units into the symmetrical whole.

This second system of linking base units is organized then in threes--the base concept will be three units wide (figure 18). This distinctive tripartite structure, where the central unit is not a passageway but living space (usually a kitchen), finds its origins in the building traditions of the Scandinavian countries. The tripartite house form is old in both Norway and Sweden,[40] and while a relative late-comer to Denmark, it was ascending to its height of popularity in the Sanpete Valley during the early-to-middle years of the nineteenth century.[41] From this tradition are produced four possible ground plan combinations: first, a smaller rectangle is placed between two equally sized rooms yielding the base concepts XY^1X and XY^2X; second, the

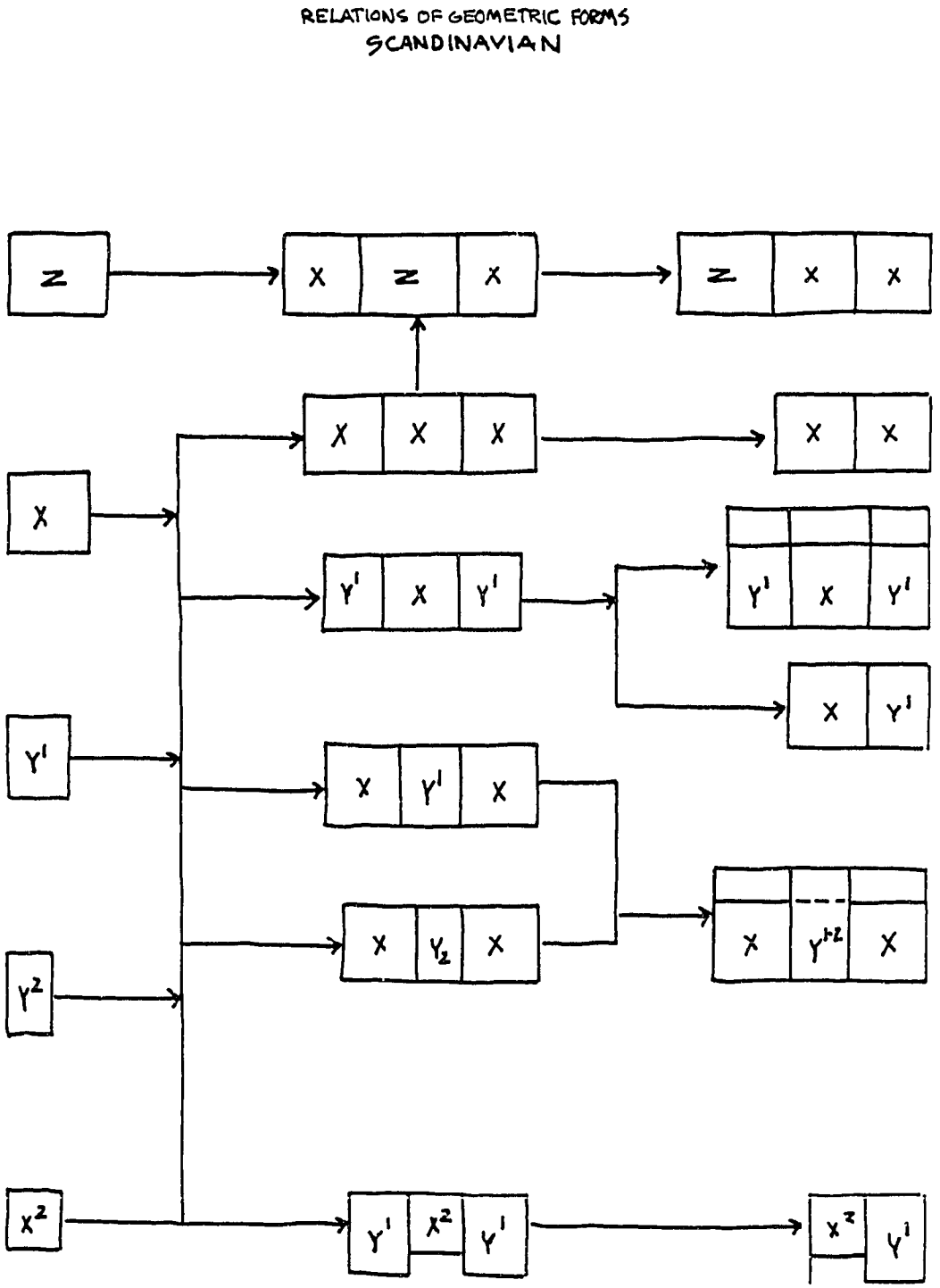


Figure 18: Combining the Geometric Units, II.

larger square unit is flanked by a pair of smaller rectangles in the form of Y^1XY^1; third, there is a string of unevenly sized rooms, ZXX or ZXY^1; and finally, two rectangles may be divided by a smaller square room, $Y^1X^2Y^1$.

The exact way in which the geometric units were combined into the working ground plans is not clear. While studies in Virginia by Glassie and Dell Upton indicate that houses there were laid out "in the clear," that is, the size of the desired internal space was determined before adding the dimensions of the walls, this does not appear to have been the case in the Sanpete Valley.[42] The internal measurements of the recorded houses are so uneven--14'6", 15'8", 16'3" are regularly encountered room dimensions, that it is unlikely that houses were planned from the inside out. More regular dimensions are found in the external house measurements and it is possible that the Sanpete builders laid out a ground plan or foundation which conceptually included the desired geometric units. Jens Christian Andersen Weibye, a Danish immigrant, sketched in his diary a plan for a house he constructed in Manti in 1865. This plan included only the outside dimensions (figure 19).[43] Weibye's diary also contained a drawing of the floorplan of the completed house which shows that the intended result was an XY^2 house. It is possible that Weibye first conceptualized the house as two rooms, X and Y^2, then determined the desired dimensions for these room shapes, which were then combined into the longer rectangle that formed the whole--the geometric block which was the ultimate planning objective (figure 20).

With the base structures in place, the builder was ready to begin composing the house itself. The basic rules used in the valley are

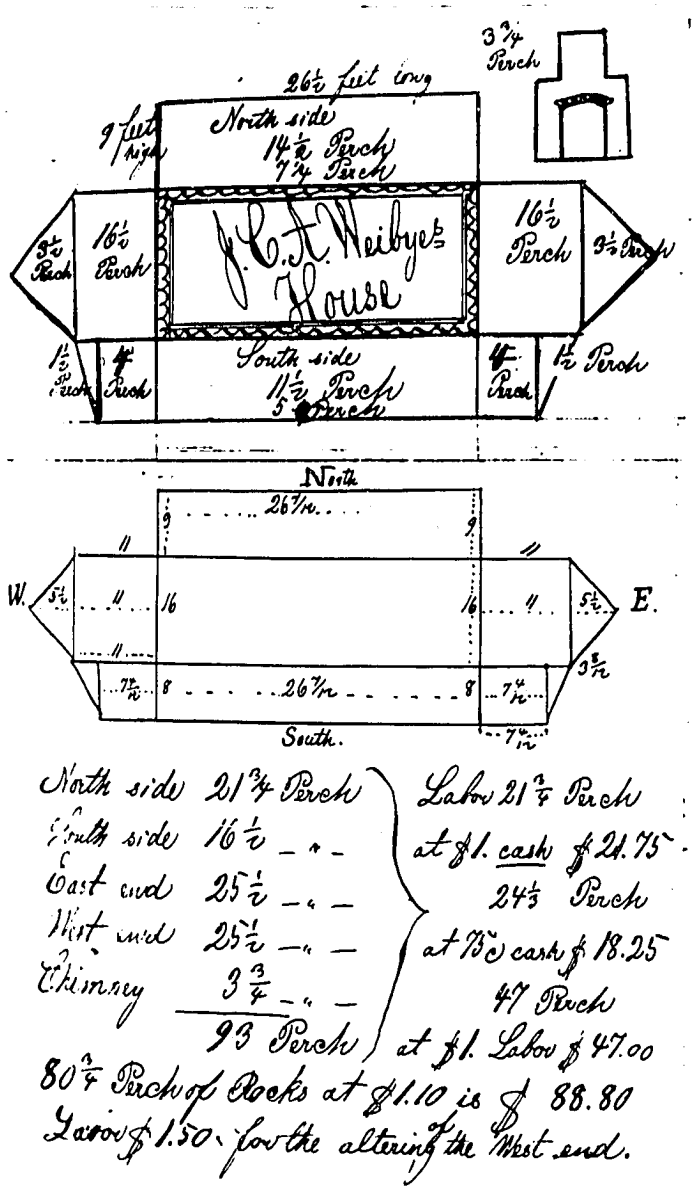


Figure 19: House plan from the diary of Jens C.A. Weibye, c.1865.

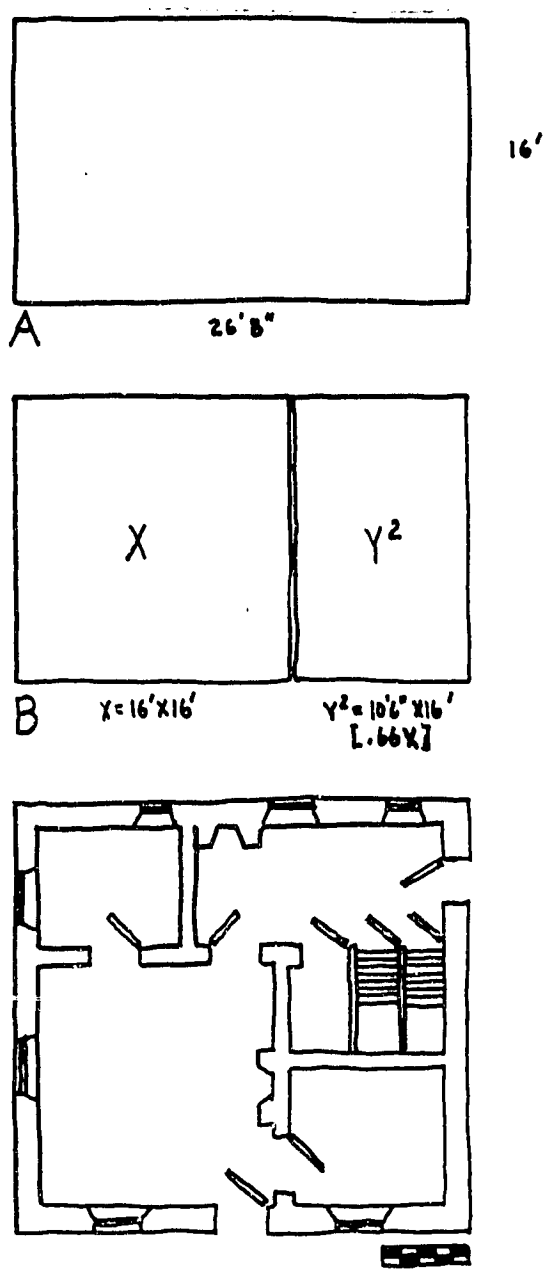


Figure 20: Conjectural method for moving from the gross dimensions of the house (A) through the base concept XY^2 (B) to the house itself. The house plan and floorplan is reproduced from the diary of Jens Christian Andersen Weibye.

essentially those outlined by Glassie (figure 21).[44] The first decision was one of roof orientation. Would the roof be placed parallel or perpendicular to the street, or public space. If the choice was for the parallel type of roof, then the house would have its long side facing forward and the principal door would be placed on the broad side of the geometric block. If a perpendicular or forward facing orientation was chosen, the door could then be placed on the narrow end of the house or on one or both of the optional flanking wings.

It is important to note here that appendages lying outside the self-contained geometric block do not figure in the determination of the base concepts (with the above noted exception of the XY^1Y^2 string). Located outside the "house," with house here defined as the space contained under the principal roof, such units must be considered additions to the base concept, whether executed at the time of the house or literally "added" later. While generally conforming to the rules outlined in the building competence, rear ells and lean-tos are not viewed as structural components of the house unless the roof lies perpendicular to the street. In this case, the extensions are visible as functioning components of the principal facade and must be included in the general structural description of the house. Because the rules for turning the narrow end of the house forward were largely inspired by the architectural thinking associated with Greek Revival building style of the early 1800s, the houses generated from this particular rule have been called "temple form" houses.[45] Five variants of the temple form house are found in the Sanpete Valley (figure 22): the temple form itself, a single room wide and two rooms deep; the cruciform, a single room wide, two rooms deep, with two flanking wings; the cross-wing, a

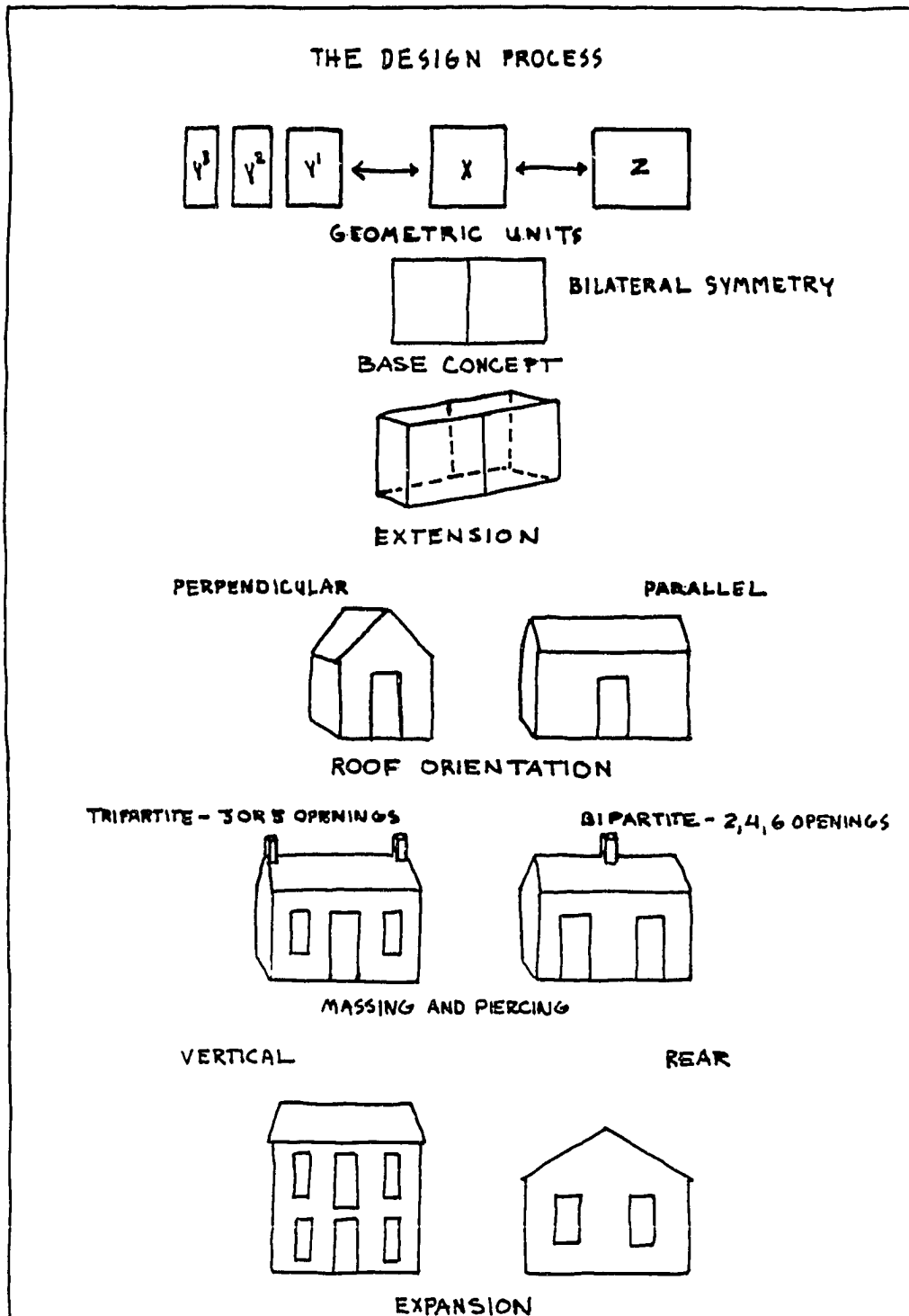


Figure 21: The Folk Designing Process

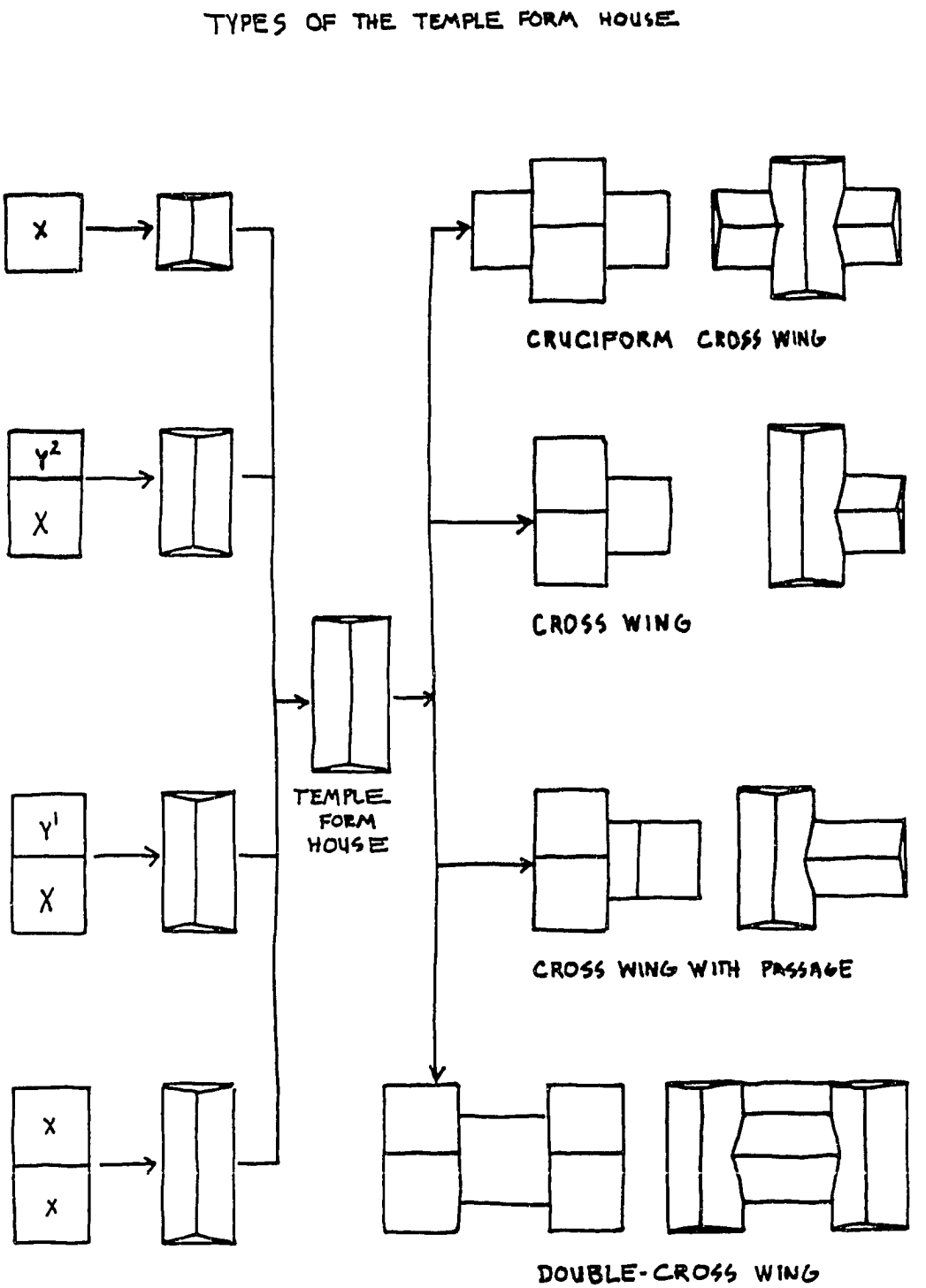


Figure 22: The types of the Temple Form house in the Sanpete Valley.

single room wide, two rooms deep, with only one side wing; the cross wing with passageway, a single room wide, two rooms deep, with a single side wing which contains a passageway; and the double cross wing, two one room wide, two rooms deep sections separted by a connecting wing.

After the orientation of the base concept was decided, next came the rules for massing and piercing. In the valley, the building rules provide for symmetrical houses that may be tripartite or bipartite. Tripartite houses have a door in the middle of the principal facade that is flanked by one or two bays. The completed house must always have an odd number of openings (the door plus an equal number of windows each side) and there may be two gable-end chimneys, two centrally placed chimneys, or one chimney located asymmetrically on the ridge. The massing rules for bipartite houses require that the central position on the principal facade be an open space. Doors and windows are found in even numbers to each side of this open area and there will always be an even number of bays in patterns of two, four, or six. There may be two chimneys at the ends of the ridge or one centrally placed chimney.

The house is now almost complete; only its exact size remains to be determined. In the valley there are rules for expanding the base concept both upward and to the rear. The house may be one story, one-and-a-half story, or two storys high and it may either be single pile (one room deep) or double pile (two rooms deep).

By applying these basic rules to the twelve available base concepts, it is possible to generate the actual houses found in the valley. In the accompanying diagrams (figures 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, and 28), I have provided a step-by-step outline of the structuring capacity of the design system. In the diagrams, I have included the names for the

ground plans that are found in current folk architecture literature: X, single cell house, Z, single cell house, XY^2, rectangular cabin house, XY^1, hall-parlor house, XY^1Y^2, double parlor or three-cell house, XX, double cell house, XZ, extended hall-parlor house, XY^3X, central passageway house, and XY^1X, Y^1X^1, XXZ, and $Y^1X^2Y^1$, pair or double houses.[45] The Sanpete Valley building competence contains rules for generating 46 different types of houses. These types will be described in more detail in the following chapter, but they may be listed here according to their principal features. The types are all single pile unless noted otherwise.

I: 1 story single cell (X).
II: 1 1/2 story single cell (X).
III: 1 story double pile single cell (X)
IV: 1 1/2 story single cell (Z).
V: 2 story single cell (Z).
VI: 1 story rectangular cabin.
VII: 1 1/2 story rectangular cabin.
VIII: 1 story double pile rectangular cabin.
IX: 1 story irregular rectangular cabin.
X: 1 story hall-parlor.
XI: 1 1/2 story hall-parlor.
XII: 2 story hall-parlor
XIII: 1 1/2 story double pile hall-parlor.
XIV: temple form
XV: cruciform
XVI: cross-wing
XVII: cross-wing with passage.
XVIII: double cross-wing.
XXIX: 1 story double parlor
XX: 2 story double parlor.
XXI: 1 story double cell.
XXII: 1 1/2 story double cell.
XXIII: 2 story double cell.
XXIV: 1 story double cell (asymmetrical).
XXV: 1 story double pile doulbe cell (asymmetrical).
XXVI: 1 story extended hall-parlor.
XXVII: 1 1/2 story extended hall-parlor.
XXVIII: 2 story extended hall-parlor.
XXIX: 1 story central passageway.
XXX: 1 1/2 story central passageway.
XXXI: 2 story central passageway.

XXXII: 1 story double pile central passageway.
XXXIII: 1 1/2 story double pile central passageway.
XXXIV: 2 story double pile central passageway.
XXXV: 1 story pair house (A).
XXXVI: 1 1/2 story pair house (A).
XXXVII: 1 1/2 story double pile pair house (A).
XXXVIII: 1 1/2 story double pile pair house/temple form.
XXXIX: 1 story pair house (B).
XL: 1 1/2 story pair house (B).
XLI: 1 story double pile pair house (B).
XLII: 1 story bipartite pair house (B).
XLIII: 1 story double pile bipartite pair house.
XLIV: 1 story pair house (C).
XLV: 1 story pair house (D).
XLVI: 1 1/2 story pair house (D).

Before moving on to the actual houses, it should be noted that any artifactual typology is necessarily the construct of the analyst and such types may or may not have existed in the minds of the people who built and used them.[46] In concentrating upon the mental system that generated the types, however, rather than a classification system based upon an arbitrarily determined list of attributes, we have come closer to understanding the artifactual "template," the builder's working plan.[47] No typology, however neatly or naturally constructed, is an end in itself; The house types outlined here are useful only in that they enable us to see the range of housing forms built in the Sanpete Valley. If the building competence gave people here the ability to design houses, it is important to remember that they could only do what the context--the social world of early Mormonism--would allow.[48] The actual use of the architectural repertoire was governed by the norms of the community. A cultural preoccupation with conformity would be seen in the contraction of the rule set, the limiting of choices, and a reduction in the number of different housing alternatives. The great number of house types found in the Sanpete Valley suggests that no such contraction occurred.

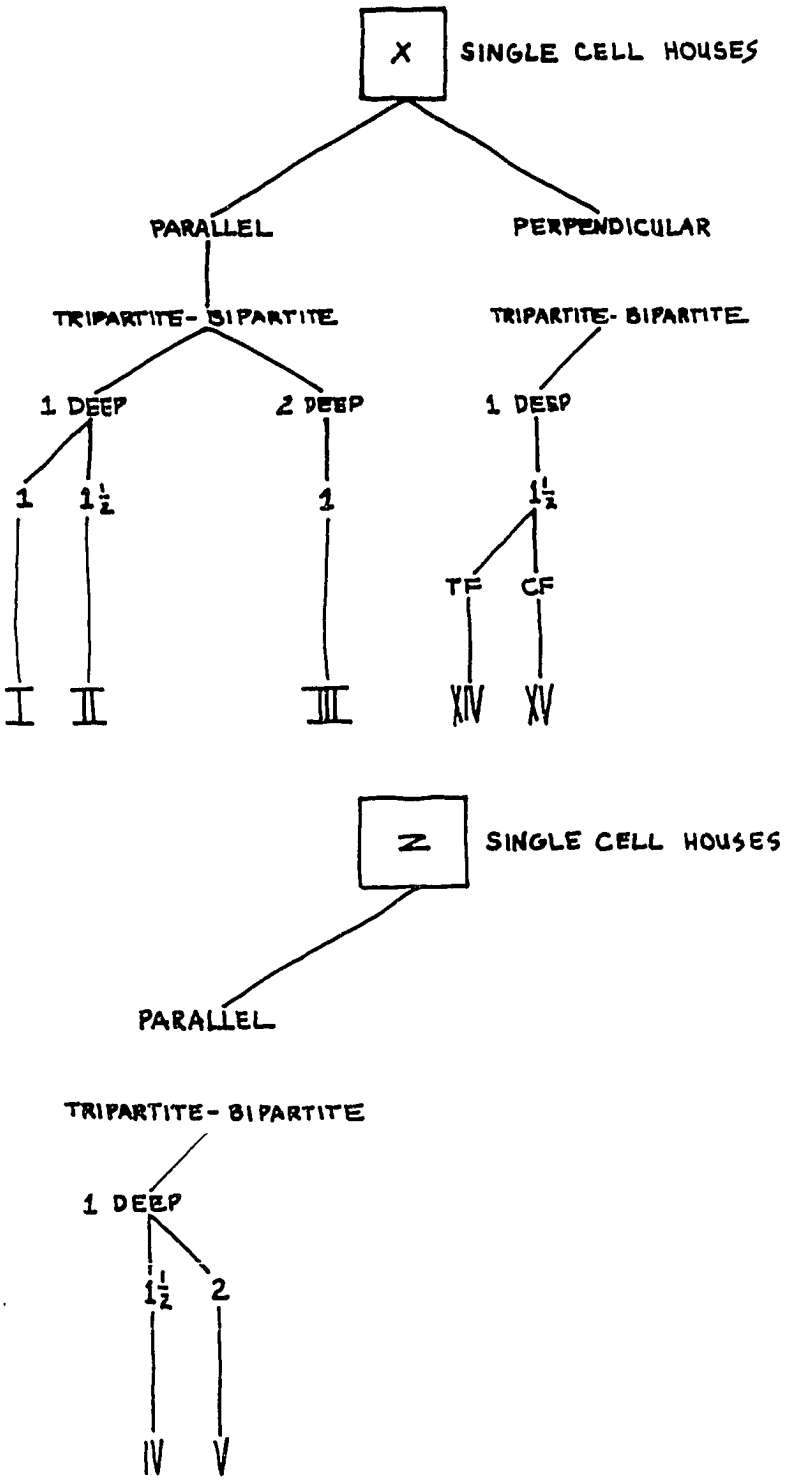


Figure 23: Rules for Transforming the Base Structures X and Z.

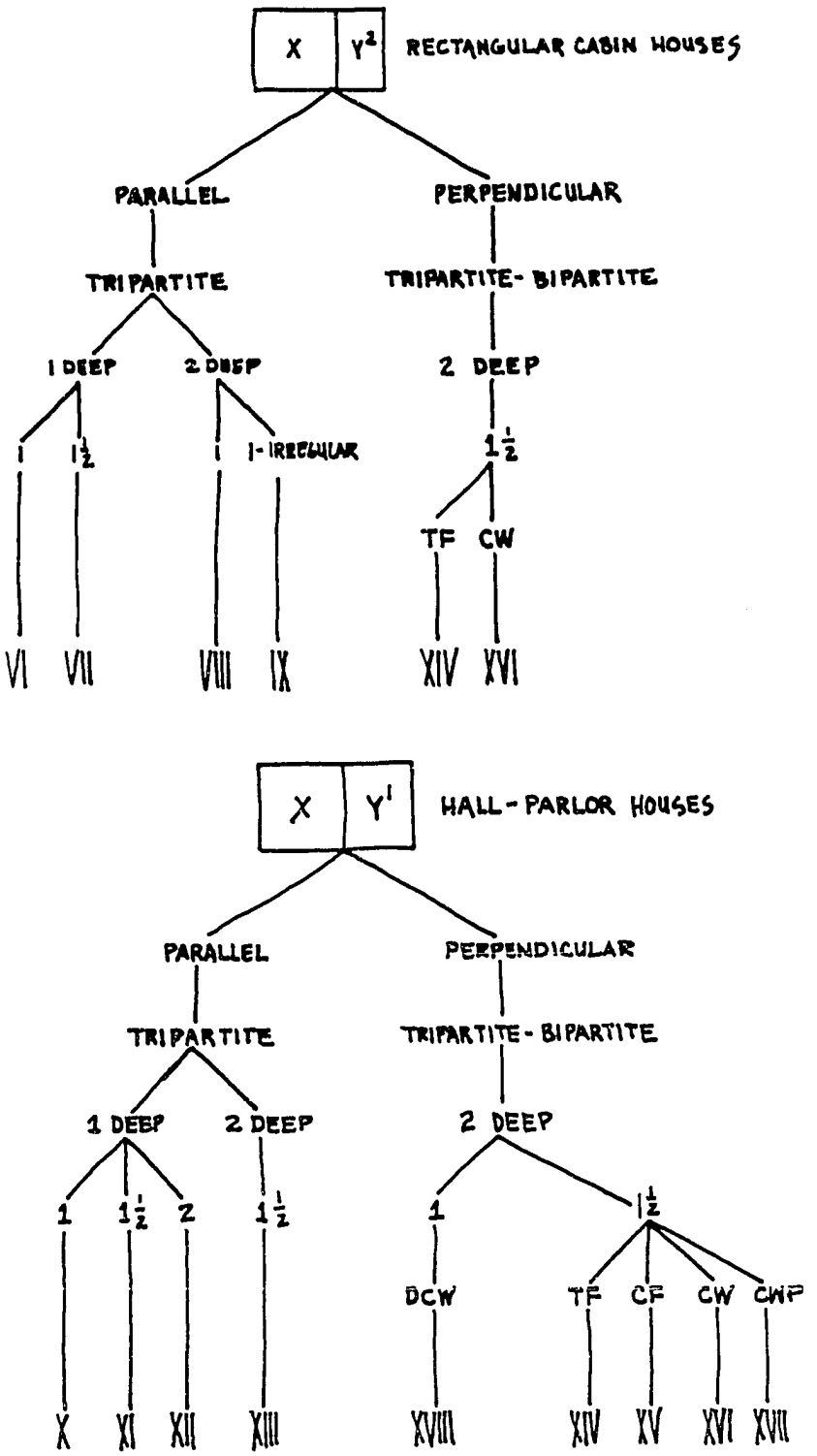


Figure 24: Rules for Transforming the Base Structures XY^2 and XY^1

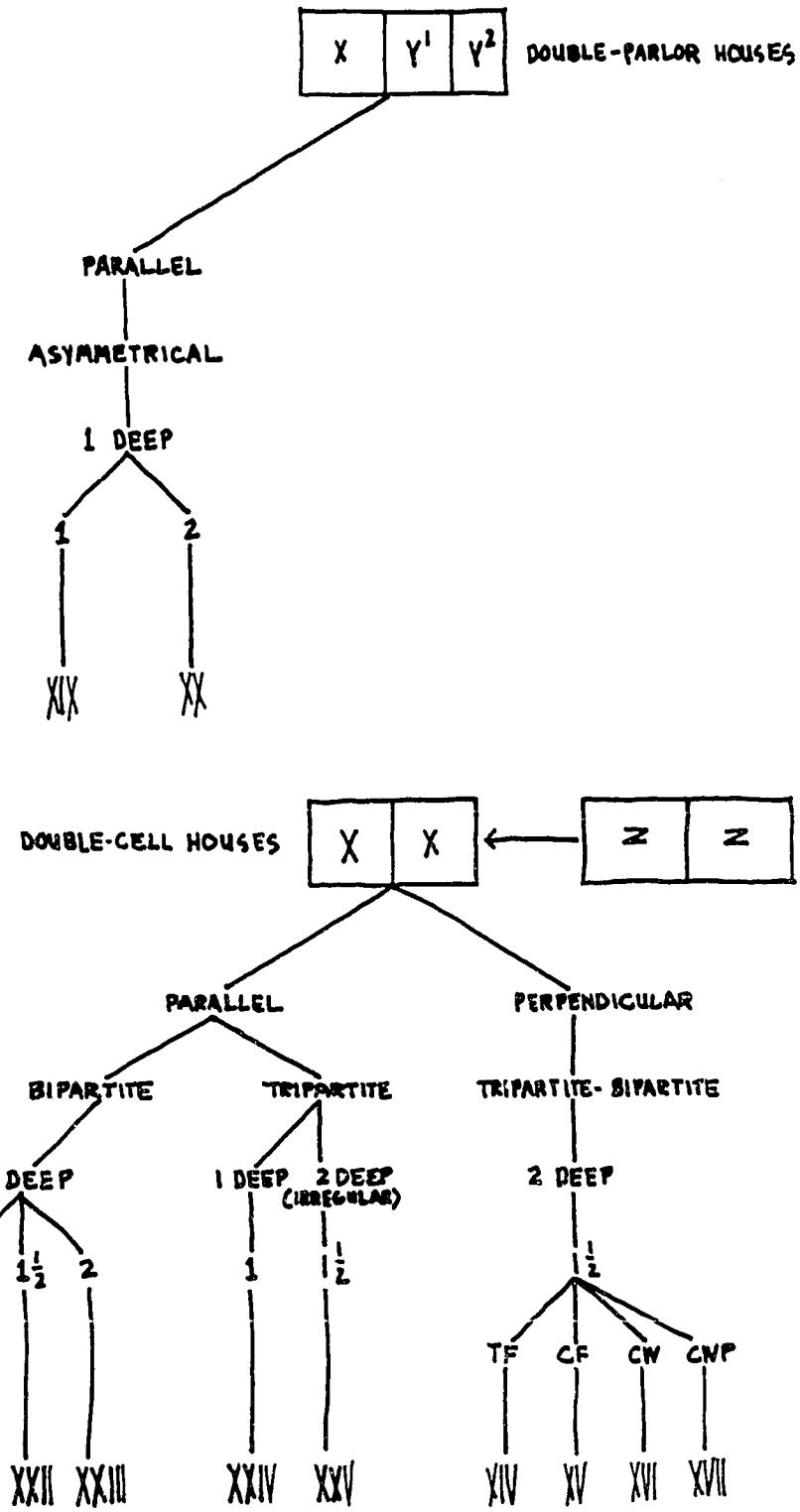


Figure 25: Rules for Transforming the Base Structures XY^1Y^2 and XX.

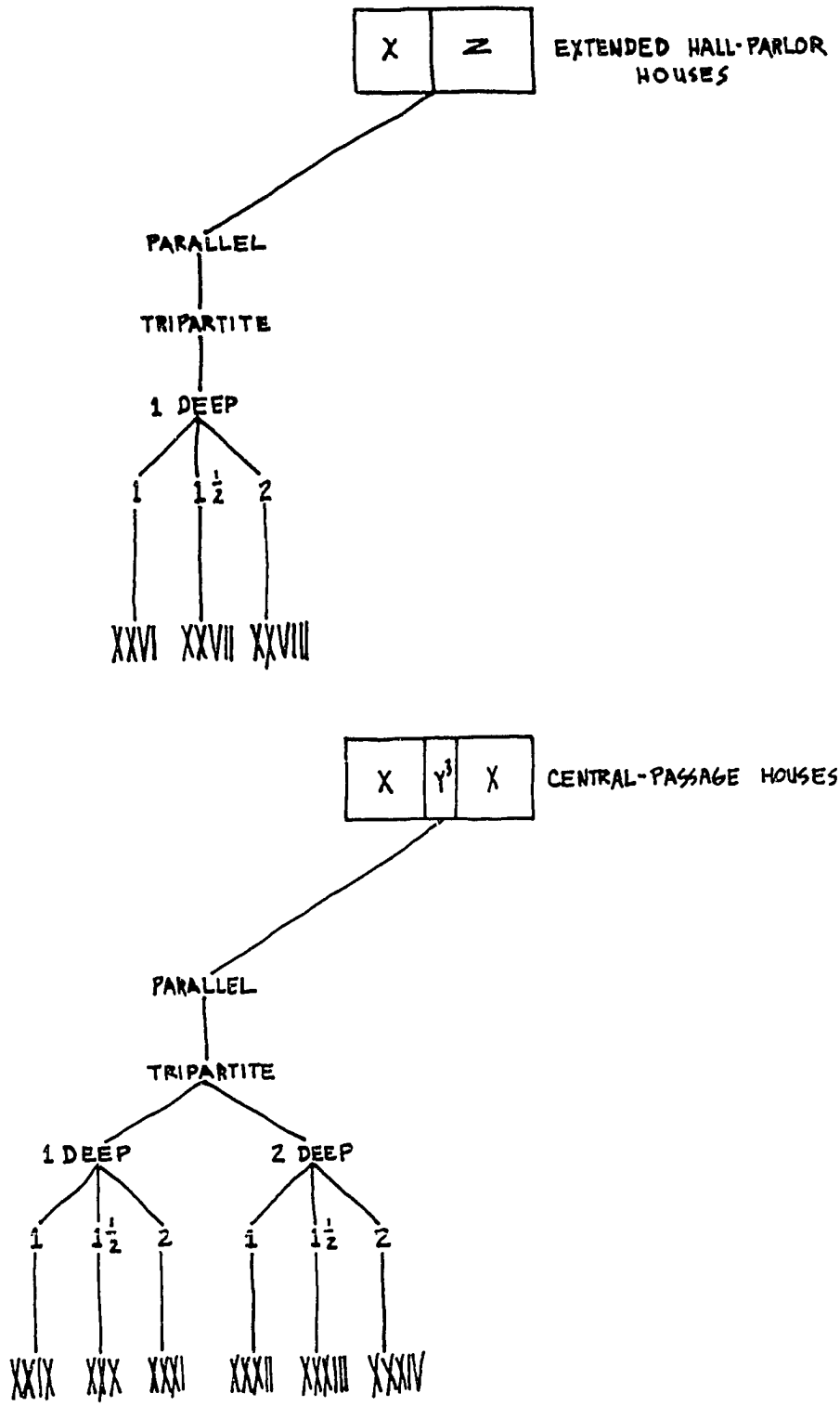


Figure 26: Rules for Transforming the Base Structures XZ and XY^3X

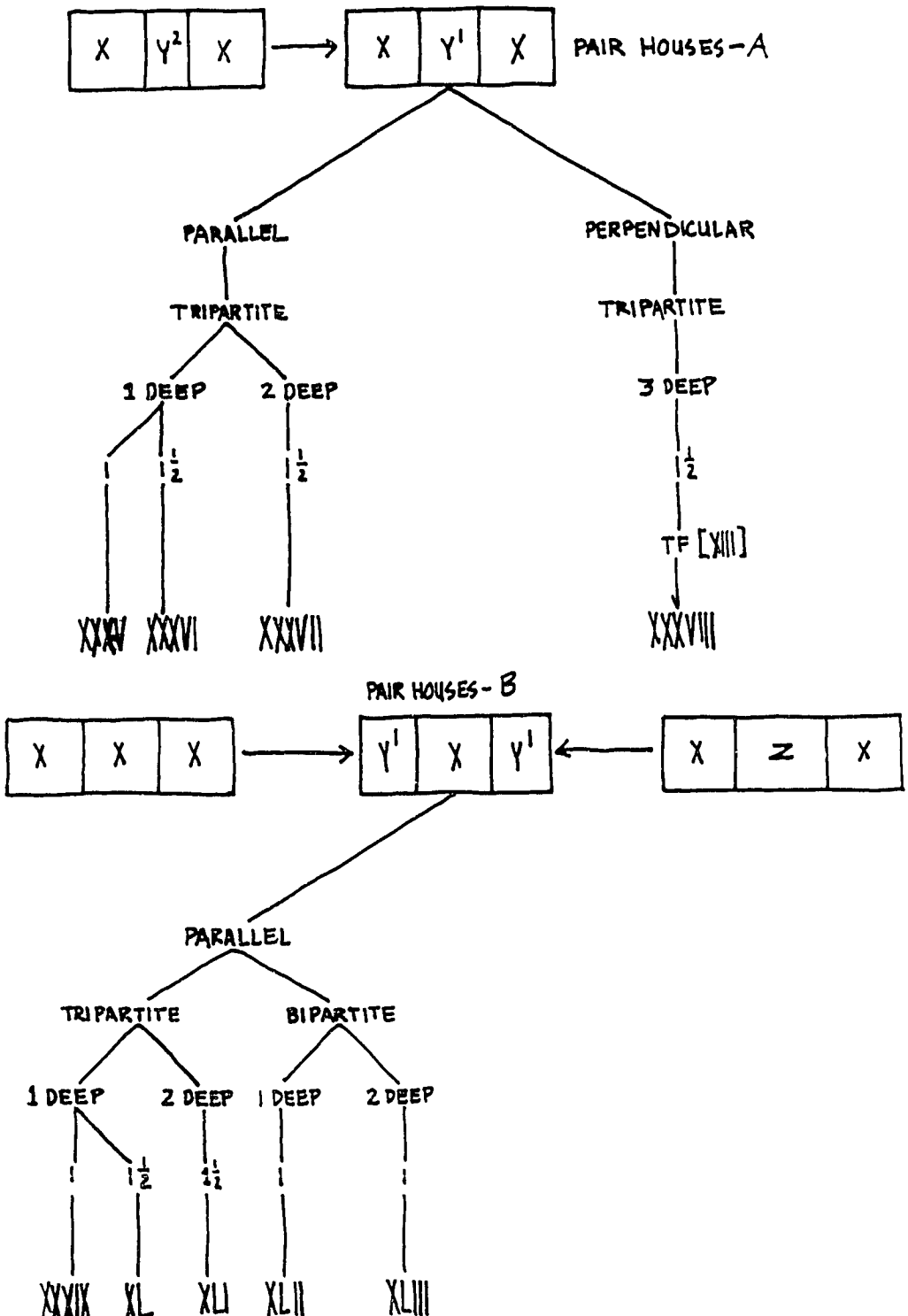
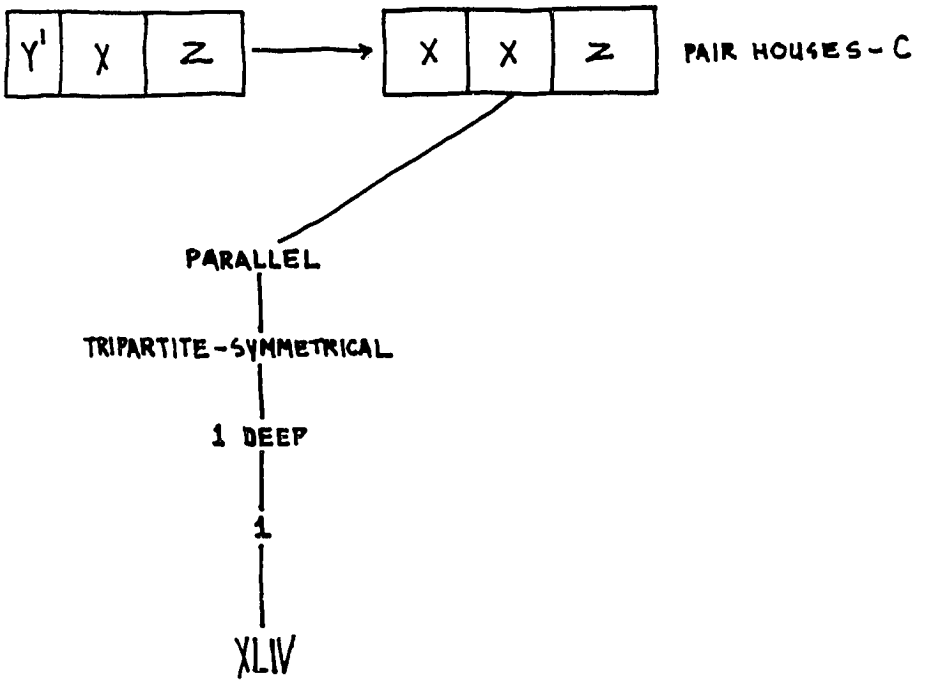


Figure 27: Rules for Transforming the Base Structures XY^1X and Y^1XY^1.



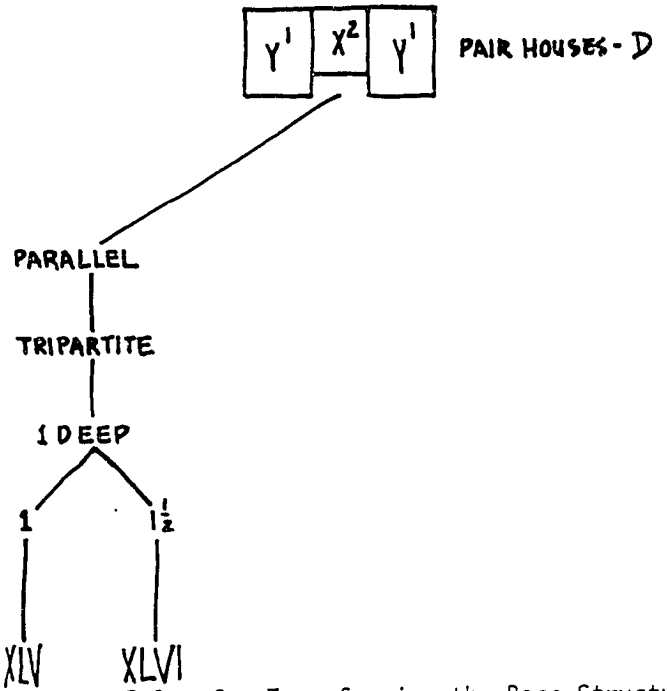


Figure 28: Rules for Transforming the Base Structures XXZ and $Y^1X^2Y^1$.

Notes

Chapter IV

1. See Hayden, Seven American Utopias, 9-61, and Mark Leone, "Why the Coalville Tabernacle Had to be Razed," Dialogue, 8:2 (1973), 30-35.

2. Hayden, Seven American Utopias, 142.

3. The general acceptance of Renaissance ideals at the folk level is treated in various works. For the English tradition I have relied on the background summary provided in the introduction to Robert H. Pierson, Jr., American Buildings and Their Architects: The Colonial and Neo-Classical Styles (New York: Doubleday, 1970), 1-21; for Wales, see Peter Smith, Houses of the Welsh Countryside: A Study in Historical Geography (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1975), 321-327; for Sweden, see Erik Lundberg, Svensk Bostad (Stockholm: Nordisk Rotogravyr, 1942), 161-224, 225-237, and Sigfrid Svensson, Fran Gammalt Till Nytt: Pa 1800-talets Svenska Landsbygd (Stockholm: LTs Forlag, 1977), 29-35; the general range of Norwegian building styles is found in Gunnar Jahn, Byggeskikker pa den Norske Landsbygd (Oslo: Haschehoug, 1925), and for Denmark, see Bjarne Stoklund, "Landbygninger Indtil 1870," in Danmarks Bygningskunst, ed. Hakon Lund and Knud Millech (Kobenhavn: H.Hirschspungs Forlag, 1963), 80-86, Peter Brogaard, Hakon Lund, and Hans Edvard Norregard-Nielsen, Danmarks Arkitektur: Landbrugets Huse (Kobenhavn: Gyldendalske, 1980), 141-159, 162-176, Harald Langberg and Hans Erling Langkilde, Dansk Byggesaet Omkring 1792 og 1942 (Kobenhavn: Den Almindelelige Brandforsikring for Landbygninger, 1942), and Knud Millech, Danske Arkitekturstromninger 1850-1950 (Kobenhavn: Ostifternes Kreditforening, 1951).

5. See Henry Glassie, "Folk Art," in Folklore and Folklife: An Introduction, ed. by Richard M. Dorson (Chicago: Univerity of Chicago Press, 1972), 275-280.

6. Hugh Morrison, Early American Architecture (New York: Oxford University Press, 1952), 304.

7. Henry Glassie treats the subject of antipathy to nature in folk buiding in Folk Housing in Middle Virginia, 122-160. For an Utah application of Glassie's concept of "turning nature into culture", see Thomas Carter, "Folk Design in Utah Folk Architecture," in Utah Folk Art: A Catalog of Material Culture, ed. by Hal Cannon (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1980), 39-42.

8. See Thomas Carter, "Cultural Veneer: Decorative Plastering in Utah's Sanpete Valley," Utah Historical Quarterly, 49:1 (Winter 1981): 68-77.

9. A good example of the form/variation definition of folk architecture is found in Howard Wight Marshall, Folk Architecture in Little Dixie: A Regional Culture in Missouri (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1981), 17-29.

10. The factors involved in the designing process are outlined in David Pye, The Nature and Aesthetics of Design, (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1978), 11-13, 23-35.

11. See "Folk Art," 259-260; "Structure and Function, Folklore and the Artifact," Semiotica, 7:4 (1973): 320-333; "The Variation of Concepts Within Tradition: Barn Building in Otsego County, New York," in Man and Culture Heritage, Geoscience and Man, V, ed. by H.J. Walter and W.G. Haag (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1974), 228-231; Folk Housing in Middle Virginia, 17-65; "Archaeology and Folklore: Common Anxieties, Common Hopes," in Historical Archaeology and the Importance of Material Things, Special Publications Series, 2, ed. by Leland Ferguson (Society of Historic Archaeology, 1977), 30-31; and "Meaningful Things and Appropriate Myths: The Artifact's Place in American Studies," in Prospects, An Annual of American Culture Papers, 3, ed by Jack Salzman (New York: Burt Franklin, 1977), 33-40.

12. Glassie, "Structure and Function," 323.

13. Noam Chomsky, Aspects of the Theory of Syntax (Cambridge, Mass.: The M.I.T. Press, 1965), 4.

14. Glassie, Folk Housing in Middle Virginia, 17.

15. See Dell Upton, "Early Vernacular Architecture in Southeastern Virginia" (Ph.D. diss.: Brown University, 1980), 119-121, and "The Power of Things: Recent Studies in American Vernacular Architecture," American Quarterly, 35:3 (1983): 272-274.

16. See Chomsky, Aspects of the Theory of Syntax, 6; Justin Leiber, Noam Chomsky (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1975), 43-52; and John Lyons, Noam Chomsky, Rev.Ed. (New York: Penguin Books, 1978), 17-19.

17. John Lyons, Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1968), 247-269, Leiber, Noam Chomsky, 94-109, and Lyons, Noam Chomsky, 61-78.

18. Leiber, Noam Chomsky, 51.

19. Glassie, "Variation of Concepts Within Tradition," 229.

20. Glassie, "Structure and Function," 328.

21. Upton, "The Power of Things," 273-274.

22. The designing rules are abstracted in "Structure and Function," 328-330, and set forth in full in Folk Housing in Middle Virginia, 21-33.

23. Glassie, "Structure and Function," 329.

24. Glassie, Folk Housing in Middle Virginia, 33-40.

25. Glassie's influence may be seen in the the already cited works by Dell Upton; see also, Robert Trent, Hearts and Crowns: Folk Chairs of the Connecticut Coast, 1770-1880 (New Haven: New Haven Colony Historical Society, 1977), and Robert Blair St. George, "Style and Structure in the Joinery of Dedham and Medfield, Massachusetts, 1635-1685," Winterthur Portfolio, 13 (1979): 1-46, and "'Set Thine House in Order,' The Domestication of the Yeomanry in Seventeenth-Century New England," in New England Begins, ed. by Jonathan L. Fairbanks and Robert F. Trent (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1982), 159-188.

26. The square unit varies within a range of 2 feet, typical room sizes are 14'3"x 14'3", 17'2"x 15'3", 14'5"x 13'3", and 16'10"x 17'.

27. See Rudolf Whitkower, Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism, Columbia University Studies in Art History and Archaeology, 1 (New York: Random House, 1962), James S. Ackerman, Palladio (New York: Penguin Books, 1966), and John Harris, The Palladians (New York: Nizzoli, 1982).

28. Deborah Howard and Malcolm Longair, "Harmonic Proportion and Palladio's Quarttro Libri," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, 41:2 (May 1982): 118.

29. Akerman, Palladio, 19.

30. Pierson, American Buildings and Their Architects, 61-68.

31. Ibid., 64.

32. See footnote 4.

33. See Pierson, American Buildings and Their Architects, 69-110; Glassie, "Cultural Process in the Delaware Valley," 35-40; Glassie, Folk Housing in Middle Virginia, 66-113; James Deetz, In Small Things Forgotten: The Archaeology of Early American Life (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1977), 35-43, 92-117; and Dell Upton, "A Performance Theory of Vernacular Architecture: Early Tidewater Virginia As a Case Study," Folklore Forum, 12:2-3 (1979): 173-198.

34. Fred Kniffen, "Folk Housing: Key to Diffusion," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 55:4 (December 1965): 553-555; Glassie, Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States, 64-69, 124-126; Glassie, Folk Housing in Middle Virginia, 56-59; and Upton, "The Power of Things," 272-273.

35. Marcus Whiffen, The Eighteenth Century Houses of Williamsburg (New York: Colonial Williamsburg, 1960), 56.

36. Glassie, Folk Housing in Middle Virginia, 25.

37. Whiffen, The Eighteenth Century Houses of Williamsburg, 56.

38. Ibid., 56. A geometrical system of designing house plans is found in J. Marshall Jenkins, "The Ground Rules of Welsh Houses--A Primary Analysis," Folk Life, 5 (1967), 65-91.

39. The two-room wide Anglo-American building tradition is illustrated in most of the published field collections of folk architecture in the United States, see for example Glassie, Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States; William Lynwood Montell and Michael Lynn Morse, Kentucky Folk Architecture (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1976); Marshall, Folk Architecture in Little Dixie; Richard Pillsbury and Andrew Kardos, A Field Guide to the Folk Architecture of the Northeastern United States, Geography Publications at Dartmouth, 8 (Hanover, N.H.: Dartmouth College, Dept. of Geography, 1970); and Eugene M. Wilson, Alabama Folk Houses (Montgomery: Alabama Historical Commission, 1975).

40. See Jahn, Byggeskikker Pa Den Norske Landsbygd, 5-25, and Sigurd Erixon, Svensk Byggnads Kultur (1947; reprint ed., Stockholm: Walter Ekstrand, 1982), 286-575.

41. The move toward the symmetrical tripartite house in Denmark occurred during the middle years of the nineteenth century and is not well documented in the traditional Danish architectural texts. Most studies deal either with the folk buildings of the seventeenth and eighteeenth centuries or the high style, academic architecture of the nineteenth century. There have been no systematic studies dealing with the sweeping architectural changes of the 1800s. The best description of life in the Danish countryside during this period is found in Christiansen, "Peasant Adaptation," 98-152.

42. Glassie, Folk Housing in Middle Virginia, 21-24.

43. Jens Christian Andersen Weibye, Diary, Holograph, LDS Church Archives, 99.

44. Glassie, "Structure and Function," 330.

45. Talbot Hamlin, Greek Revival Architecture in America (1944; reprint ed., New York: Dover, 1965), 260, 266, 293, Pierson, American Buildings and Their Architects, 444-452, and Glassie, Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States, 129-133.

46. See Deetz, Invitation to Archaeology, 51, and Upton, "The Power of Things," 272-273. For a full discussion of the type concept in archaeology, see the articles gathered in James Deetz, Man's Imprint from the Past (Boston: Little Brown, 1965).

47. Deetz, Invitation to Archaeology, 45-49.

48. Glassie, Folk Housing in Middle Virginia, 114.

Chapter V

The Houses

The early years of settlement in the Sanpete Valley were characterized by a great diversity in domestic architecture with immigrants depending largely upon imported forms and technologies for their building needs. Given the LDS Church's historical base of support in the northeastern and midwestern United States and the success of its Scandinavian proselytizing mission, it is not surprising that the houses of the valley most closely resemble the architectural traditions of these source areas. At the most fundamental level of design, that of forming the base structure, convention exerted its most powerful influence and it is here, in the ground plans themselves, that Sanpete houses most openly betray their regional and national allegiences. It would be wrong to assume, however, that the Saints always adhered to the architectural customs of their homelands. It is clear that some did and others did not.[1]

The first Welsh settlers appear to have favored the small two room cottages of the native land and the sizeable number of pair houses indicates that the Scandinavian folk tradition peristed as well. New England architecture is also amply represented in the valley in the temple form house. Yet despite the presence of these transplanted forms, the most striking feature of the valley's architectural tradition is its basic flexibility--the ability of the Saints to use their understanding of the designing competence to build houses according to their needs and resources regardless of their origins. The field data suggests that

European Saints adopted American housing types and American-born Saints found European forms useful as well. The shared geometric repertoire facilitated cross-cultural borrowing and in some cases allowed the creation of what must be considered new and non-traditional houses. An example of the innovative use of the competence is seen is the extended hall (XZ) form which is (to my knowledge) unique to the Sanpete Valley. The folk housing of this area then defies easy labeling and the historian looking for a neat picture of either architectural retention or assimilation will be disappointed by the material record. Running the length of the spectrum from persistence to innovation, the basic openness of the valley's architectural tradition underscores the complex nature of early Mormon society.

Given the number of polygamist families in the valley, one might expect to find a specific set of house types clustered around this peculiar institution.[2] In other parts of Utah there does seem to have been a move toward what might be called an "architecture of polygamy." There are large communal compounds and connected rowhouses that are well suited for accomodating a multiple family structure.[3] In the Sanpete Valley, however, no such polygamist architecture surfaced and the local response to the problem of housing several families was simply to adapt single family dwellings to a new purpose. In some cases, separate households were formed for each wife and then any of the local housing forms could be used (see figures 44 and 68). When cohabitation was practiced, several house types proved the most popular. The double cell house was an ideal polygamist dwelling (see figure 86); it divided easily into separate apartments and since the rules for symmetrical piercing stipulated that there be two front doors, each wife, as one

Manti resident wrote, would have it "the same toward the street."[4] Both the central passageway house and the pair house also served the polygamists' needs. The central passage provided a convenient point of access into the adjacent apartments (see figures 102 and 109) and the central room of the pair house could be used as a large communal living area for two (or more) families residing in the smaller side units (see figure 136). Because it was the more wealthy Saints that acquired the most wives, the large central passageway, double pile houses were adapted most readily to a multi-family situation and several of the Sanpete Valley's leading citizens built such houses for their wives (see figures 112, 113, and 115).

In next two chapters I will illustrate the range of architectual diversity in the valley, first in the houses, and then, in how the openness of the building tradition spilled over into construction techniques and even to the buildings on the homestead, the barns and granaries. With this in mind, I have assembled here a catalog of the house types generated by the designing competence outlined in Chapter IV. The houses are arranged according to their base concepts and each section is preceeded by a brief historic-geographic introduction. In the limited space available in the captions to the individual houses I have included the type number, the historic name of the house (if known), the house's location and site number, and a short description covering height, materials, base structure, construction date, and when possible, information about alternations and special features. There are two site numbers given for each house. The first locates the house on the maps included at the end of this study (See Appendix I) and consists of a number identifying the town (Chester-1, Ephraim-2,

Fairview-3, Fountain Green-4, Manti-5, Moroni-6, Mount Pleasant-7, Spring City-8, Sterling-9, and Wales-10) and the site number of the house in the town (i.e., 1-50). The second number corresponds to the total survey and the three part designation is based upon the system employed by the Preservation Office of the Utah State Historical Society. In this numbering system, the SP stands for Sanpete County, the second number, the town (there are 19 towns in the whole county, thus the town numbers in the two systems do not coincide), and the third is the number of the site within the total survey. These survey numbers are located on maps housed at the Historical Society in Salt Lake City.

Single-Cell Houses [X and Z]: Types I,II,III,IV,V.

The smallest houses in the Sanpete Valley consist of a single square or nearly square room. The actual dimensions of these houses vary considerably, with room sizes ranging from 14'6" x 12'10" and 14'10" x 13' to 18'8" x 18'5" and 18'6" x 17'3". On the outside, single cell houses are about 16 to 22 feet wide and about 15 to 19 feet deep. This small dwelling was enlarged (both literally and conceptually) in several ways. Upper storys could be added and 1 1/2 and 2 story versions of the one unit house are commonly encountered in the valley. Another way of adding space was to attach a shed roof lean-to or gabled ell wing either to the rear or side (figure 29). These extensions invariably served as kitchens. One solution to the problem of space--a solution usually found on larger dwellings--was to double the square backwards under the main roof (figure 38).

Small single cell houses were undoubtedly some of the first

dwellings erected in the valley and were found both in the forts and on city lots. Several of these early structures remain, often hidden under the layers of many subsequent remodelings (see figures 33, 34, and 97). The single cell form was not only built during the period of initial settlement. One unit dwellings continued to be a viable housing alternative for families of moderate means well through the nineteenth and into the twentieth century. Evidence of the house form's popularity is found in the fact that such structures today comprise about twenty percent of the total number of pre-1890 houses in the valley.[5] While some of these small houses may be viewed as a minimal type of shelter, others are quite elegant and display a concern for fashion that rivals any of the larger homes in the area (see figures 35, 40, and 41).

The single cell dwelling type has a long history and cannot be simply characterized as a response to primitive frontier conditions. Such houses surfaced in sixteenth and seventeenth century England as dwellings for tradesmen and laborers and easily made the trans-Atlantic crossing to the Ameican Colonies.[6] It was found in both New England and the Mid-Atlantic region but proved to be one of the main farm house forms in the Tidewater South during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[7] Single room houses, often built of log, were carried westward with the expanding frontier and have been recorded in virtually every area of the country, a fact that has led one folklorist to call it the "basic Anglo-American house."[8] While often associated with the English tradition, small one room cottages served as the residences for farm tenants and laborers throughout Northern Europe during the nineteenth century as well.[9] The Mormons were well acquainted with the form in the east and it was perhaps the most common type of dwelling

at their city of Nauvoo, Illinois.[10] The single cell house form was constructed throughout the Mormon-settled Far West during the nineteenth century.[11]

Figure 29: Single cell house with side kitchen wing, Manti, 1875.

Figure 30: Type I. Cyrus Wheelock House, Mt.Pleasant, 7-3/SP-16-89. 1 story adobe X house with original lean-to extension, c.1865.

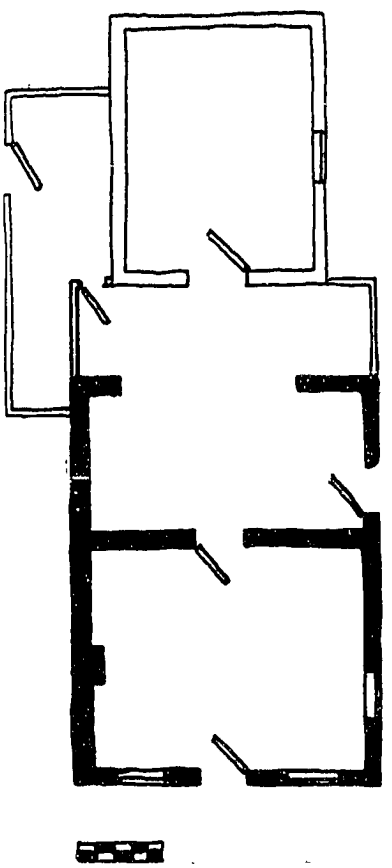


Figure 31: Wheelock house floorplan. The original house was enlarged by connecting a granary to it around 1910 (5/16/81).

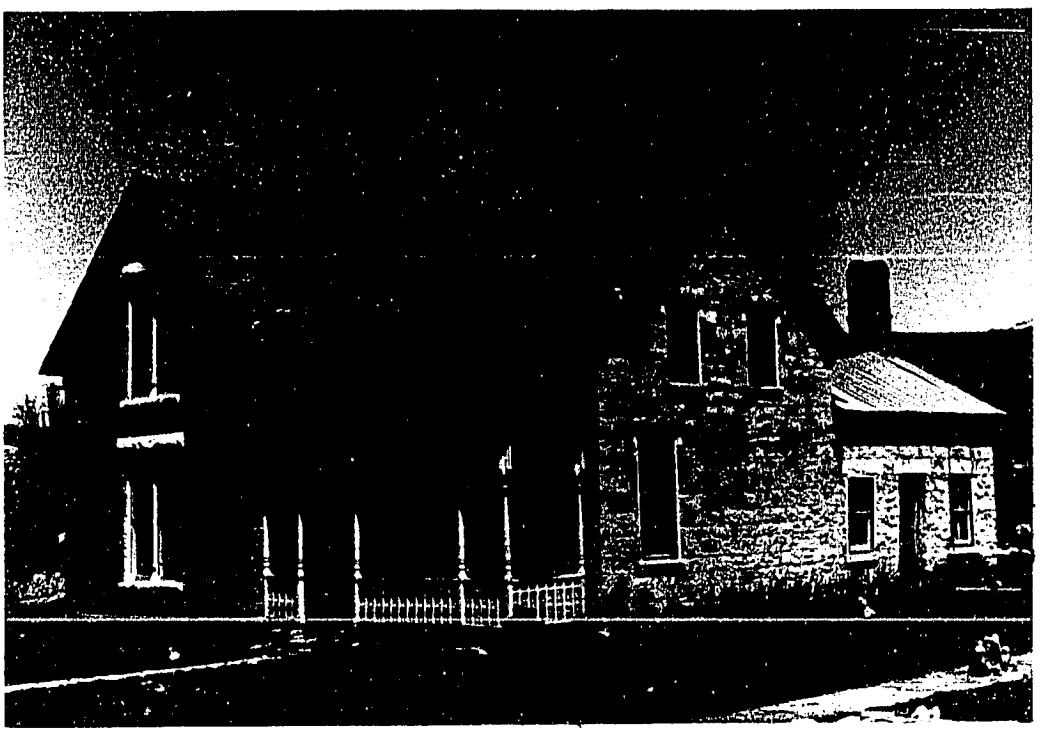


Figure 32: Type I. Joseph Snow house, Manti, 5-50/SP-16-520. 1 story stone X house, c.1855. Later additions include a c.1875 stone X house and a c.1900 brick cross wing.

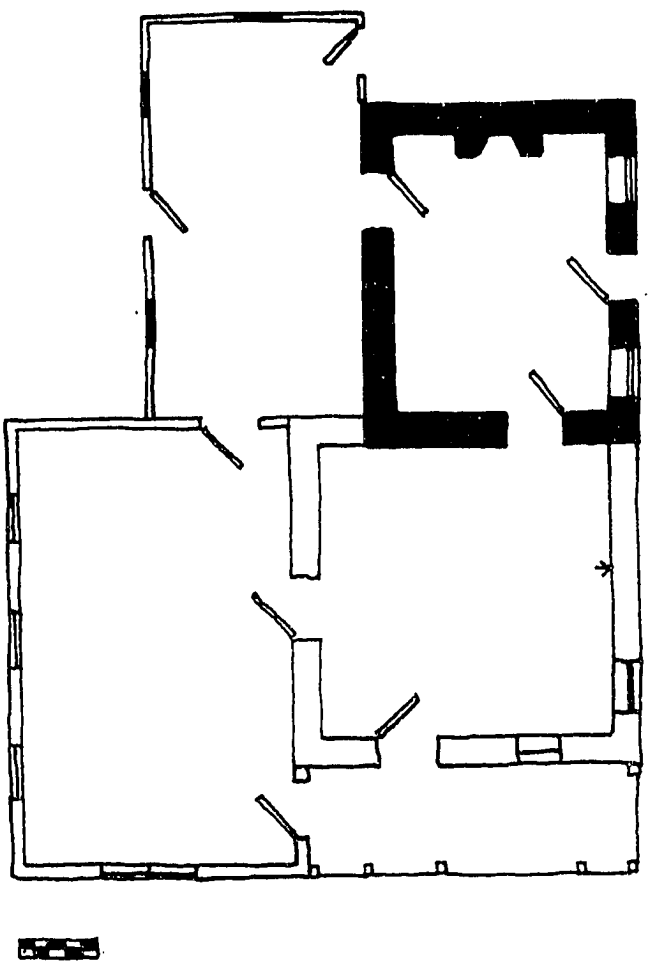
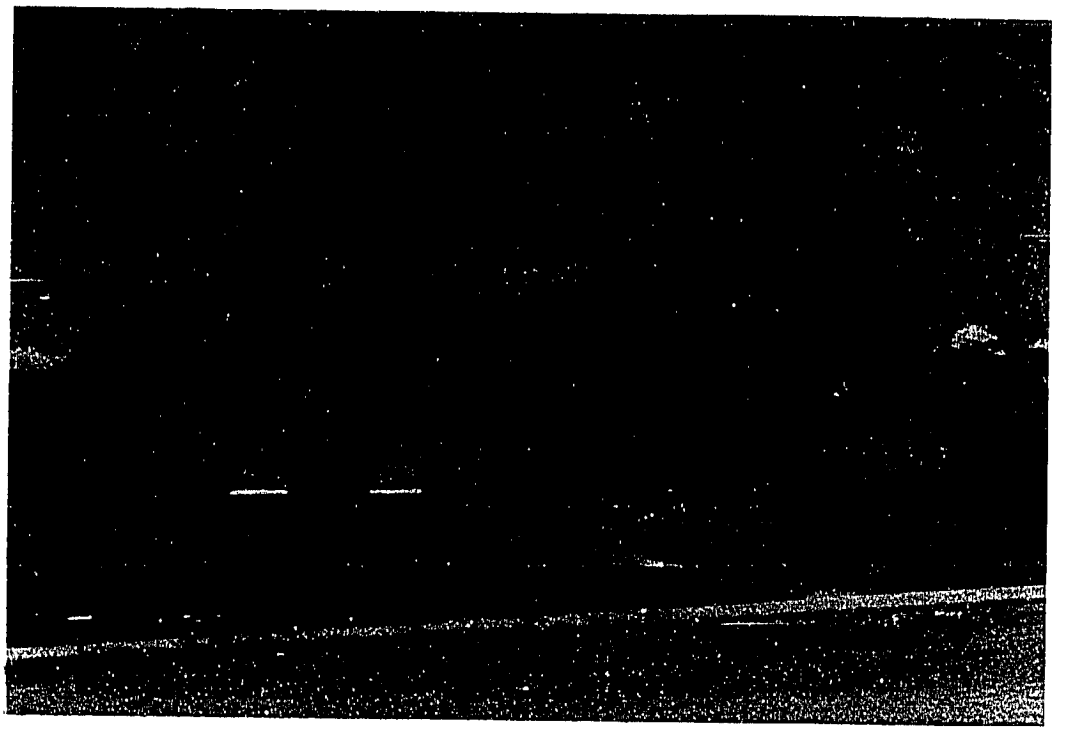


Figure 33: Floorplan of the Joseph Snow house, Manti (4/20/79)



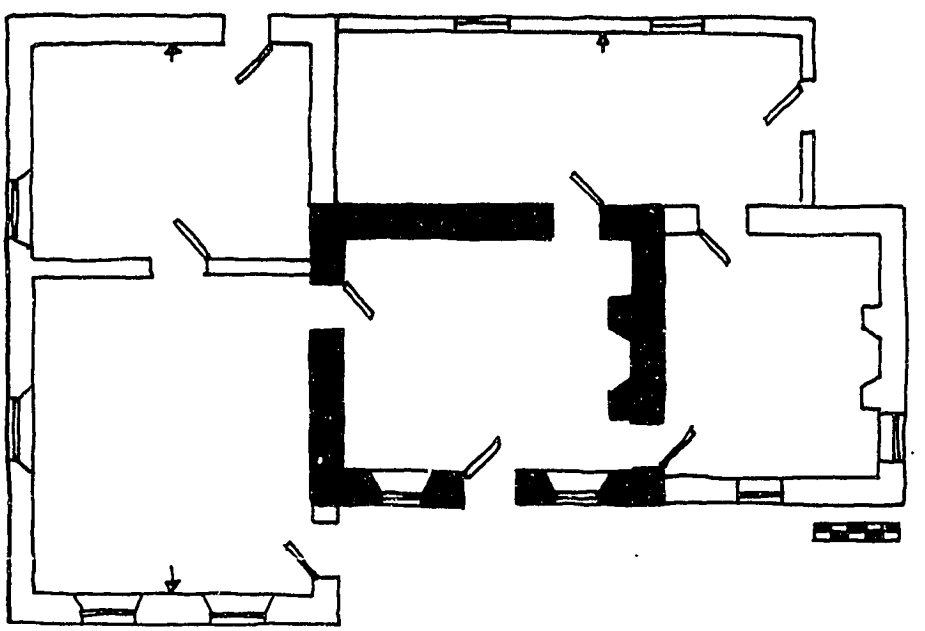
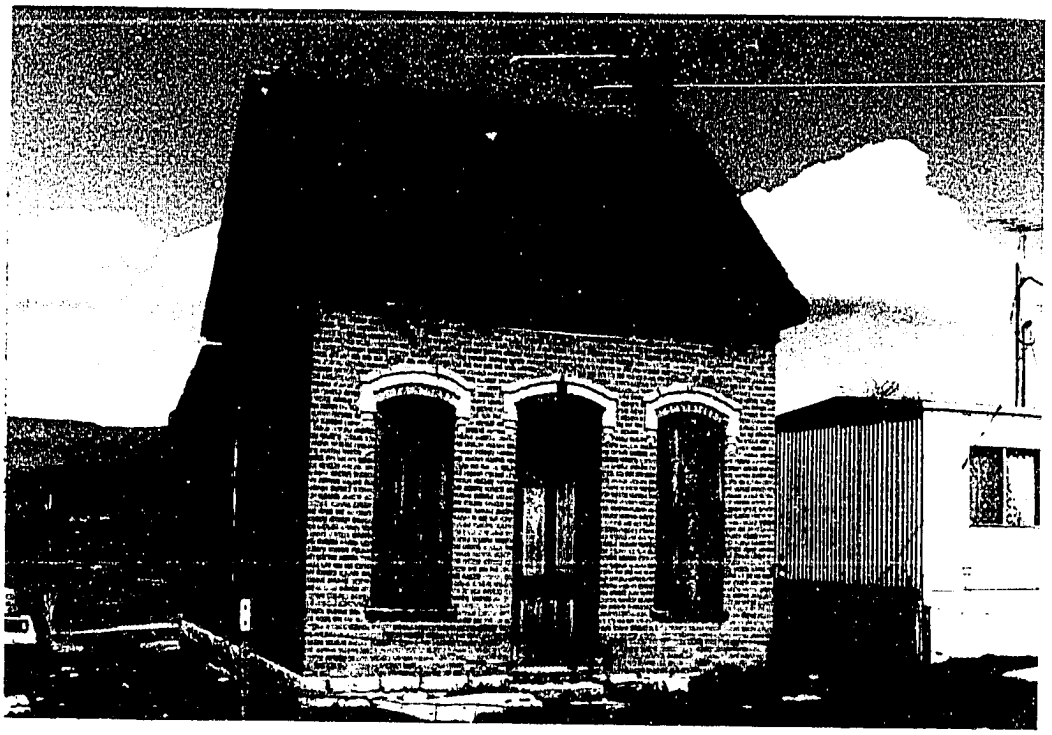


Figure 34: Type I. Edwin Cox house, Manti, 5-38/SP-13-479. 1 story plastered stone X house, c.1855. Additions include a c.1865 stone X house and a c.1883 stone cross wing (4/16/79).



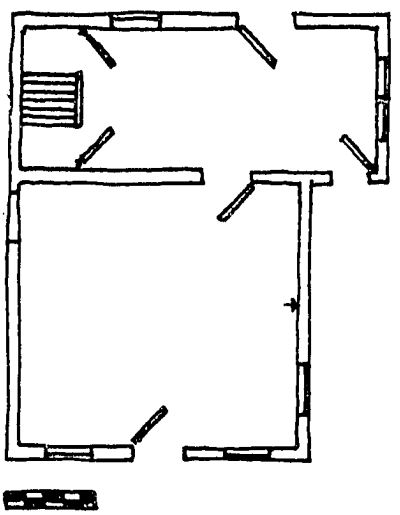


Figure 35: Type II. Fairview, 3-12/SP-07-300. 1 1/2 story X house with original lean-to extension, c.1890. This small house suggests the tenacity of the single-cell tradition and is distinguished by the fine decorative brick work over the facade openings (6/8/80).

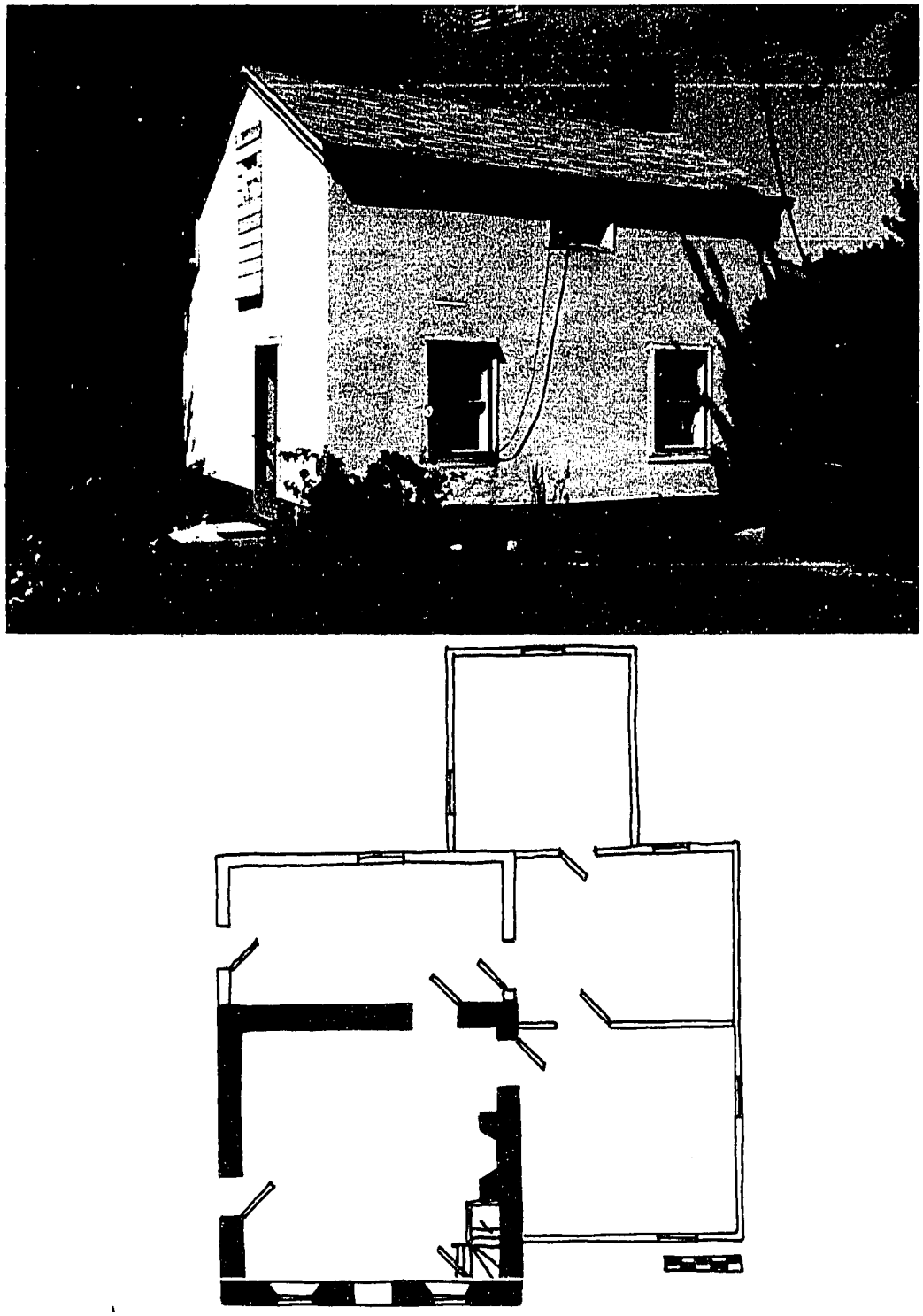
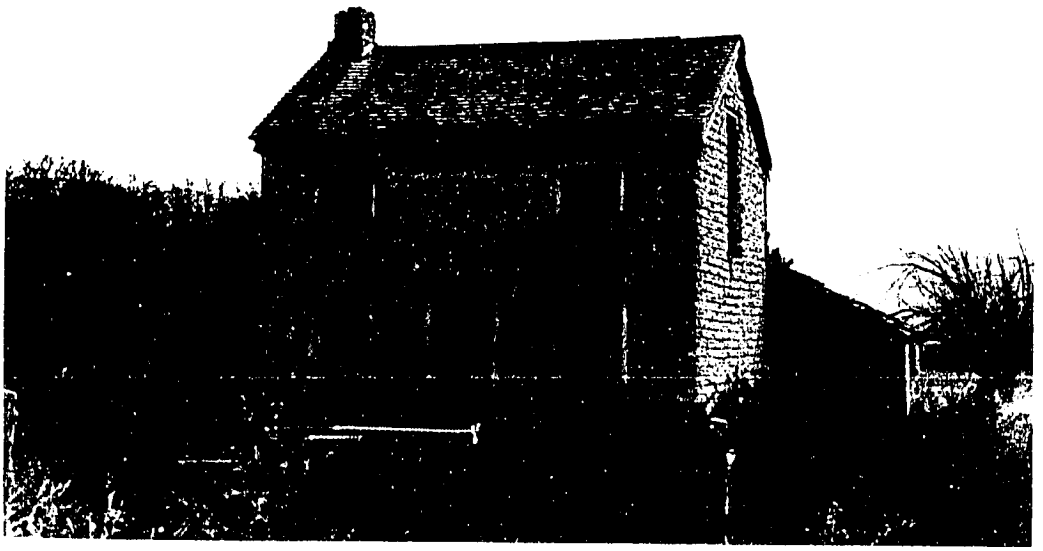


Figure 36: Type II. John Sanders house, Fairview, 3-4/SP-07-93. 1 1/2 story plastered adobe X house, c.1860-1865. The original front door on this house has been closed and covered. Additions include a c.1880 rear lean-to and extensive c.1950 rooms to the side (5/19/79, 2/15/83).



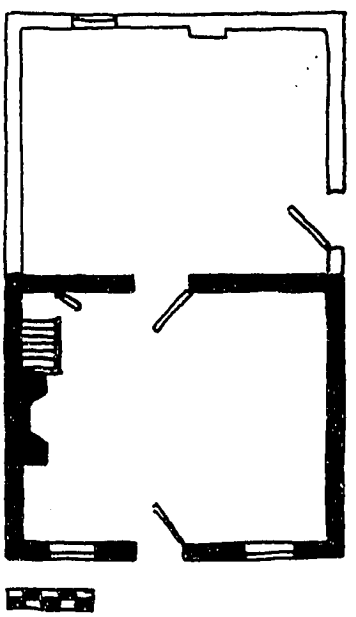


Figure 37: Type II. Garrlic house, Fairview, 3-1/SP-07-06. 1 1/2 story adobe X house c.1865-1870. Additions include a c.1880 adobe lean-to and a c.1920 frame shed (not shown in plan). Demolished in 1980 (10/11/78).

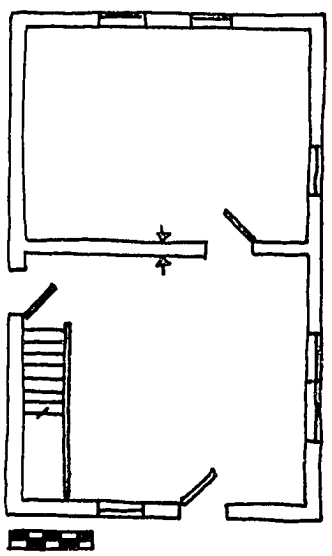
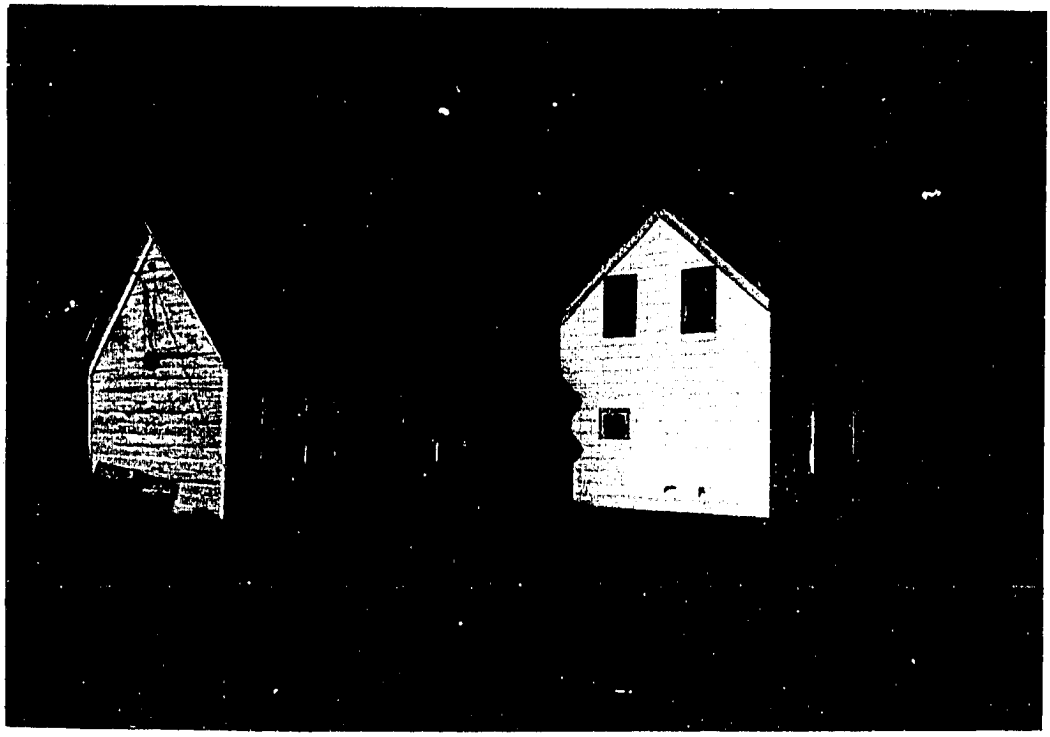


Figure 38: Type III. Andersen house, Moroni, 6-5/SP-15-21. 1 story, adobe double-pile X house, c.1870. The c.1900 frame addition is not included in the drawing. Demolished in 1980 (5/21/79). The photograph here shows the rear of the house.



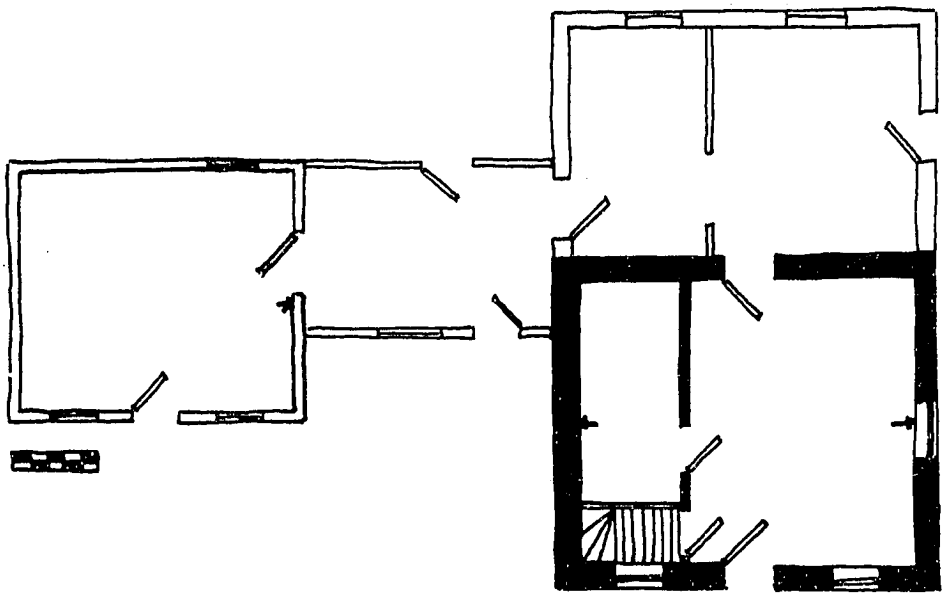
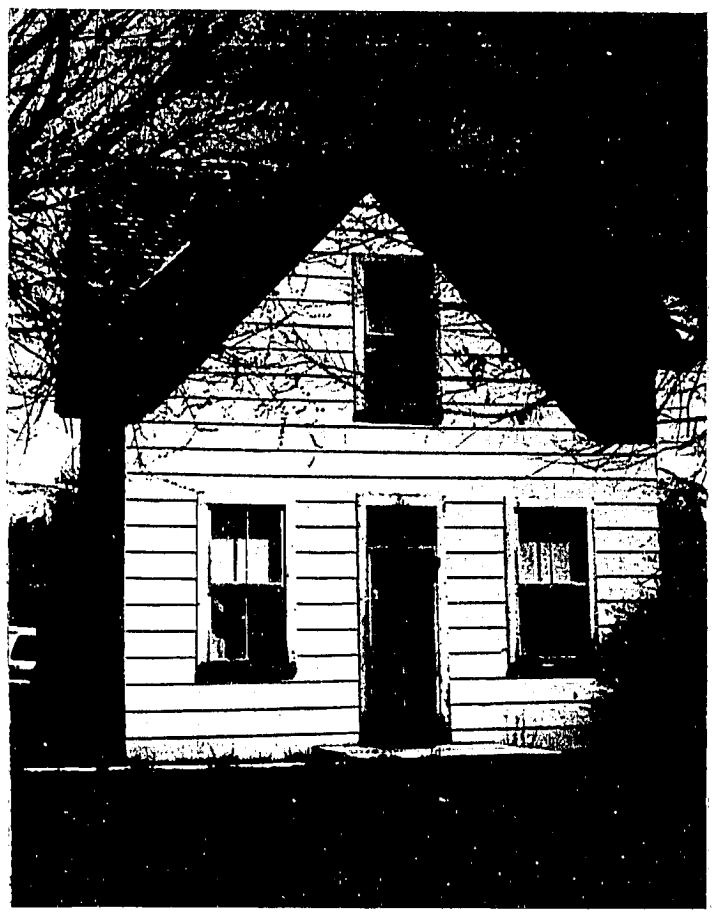


Figure 39: Type IV. Fredrick Olsen house, Spring City, 8-40/SP-17-186. 1 1/2 story stone/asbestoes sided Z house, c.1875. Additions include a c.1890 adobe lean-to on the rear and a frame X house connected to the side (11/8/78).



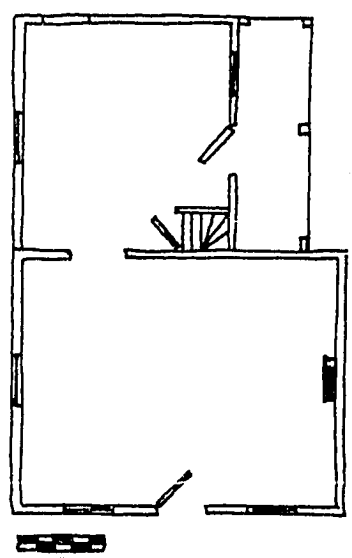


Figure 40: Type IV. Edward Fowles house, Mt. Pleasant, 7-9/SP-16-370. 1 1/2 story asbestoes sided frame Z house with orginal ell, c.1880. The cross-gable facade lends a degree of fashion to this small house.

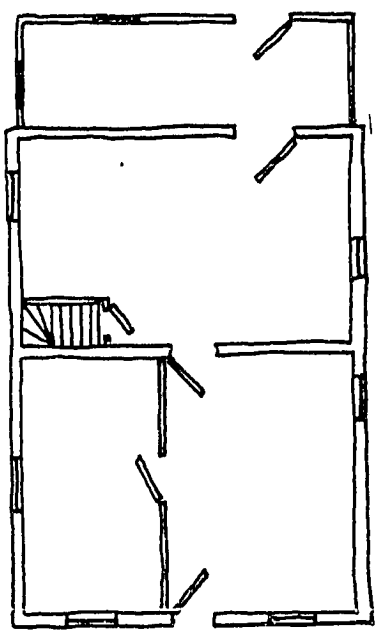
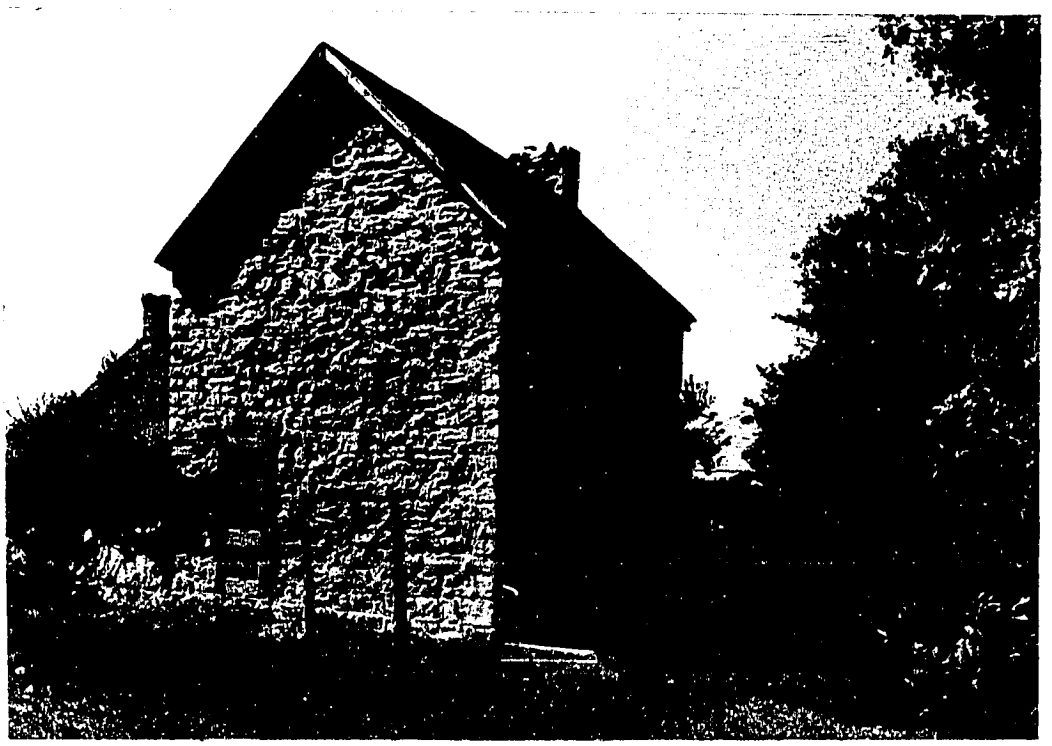


Figure 41: Type V. Daniel Lewis house, Wales, 10-10/SP-19-30. 2 story asbestoes sided frame Z house, c.1880. The distinctive wall dormers were popular throughout Utah in the 1870-1880 period and are usually found on larger XY^1 and XY^3X houses (10/17/78).



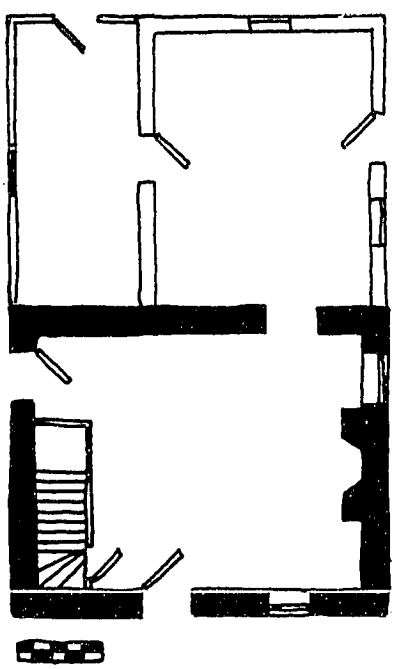
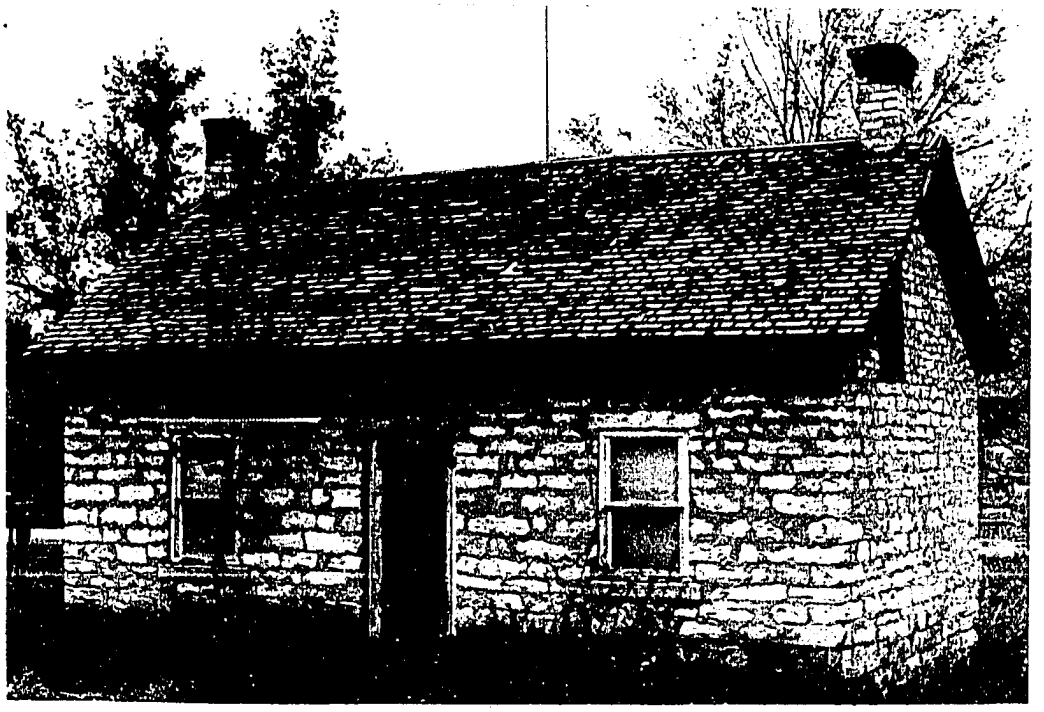


Figure 42: Type V. Anthony Bessey house, Manti, 5-59/SP-13-703. 2 story stone Z house, c.1855-1860. Additions include an adobe ell c.1870-1880 (5/25/79).

Rectangular Cabin Houses [XY^2], Types VI,VII,VIII,IX.

The smallest of the two room houses found in the Sanpete Valley is the rectangular cabin. The house is characterized by a three bay symmetrical facade and an asymmetrical internal plan. There are gable end chimneys and the rear door is invariably placed directly in line with the front door. These houses range in size from about 24 to 28 feet wide and average about 16 feet deep. They may be 1 or 1 1/2 storys high and often are found with a rear kitchen wing. One double pile variant has been recorded (figure 47) and there are several irregular types associated with this form. These distinctive houses were created by either inserting an indented porch area into the main block of the house (figures 49 and 50) or by extending the smaller room forward to achieve a double pile effect on one side of the house (figures 48 and 51). The rectangular cabin types enjoyed a degree of popularity in the valley and account for about 20% of the total survey.

While related in plan and appearance to the larger hall-parlor houses, the rectangular cabin appears as a distinct type in Anglo-American folk architecture. The origins of the form have been traced to the small houses of Scotland and Ireland that were carried to United States by the massive influx of Scots-Irish immigrants during the early eighteenth century.[12] This small house was initially found in sections of the Upland South but by the mid-nineteenth century it had lost much of its distinctive regional character to become one of several ubquitious American folk house types.[13] The house was common in southern Wales and it seems likely that Welsh immigrants brought the type directly to the Sanpete Valley from their native country (Figures 45 and 46).[14]



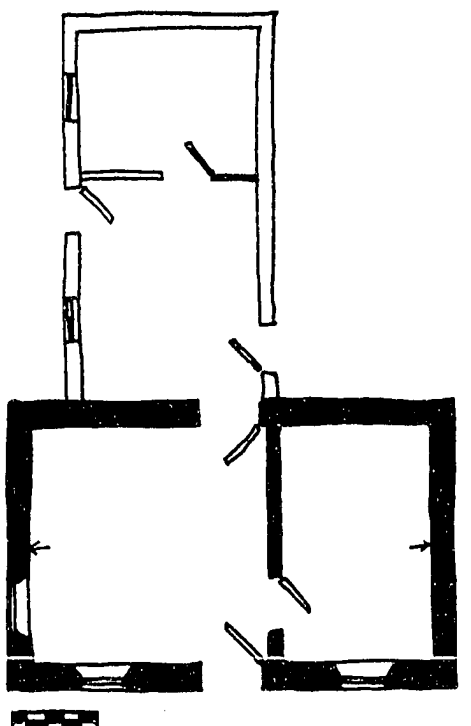
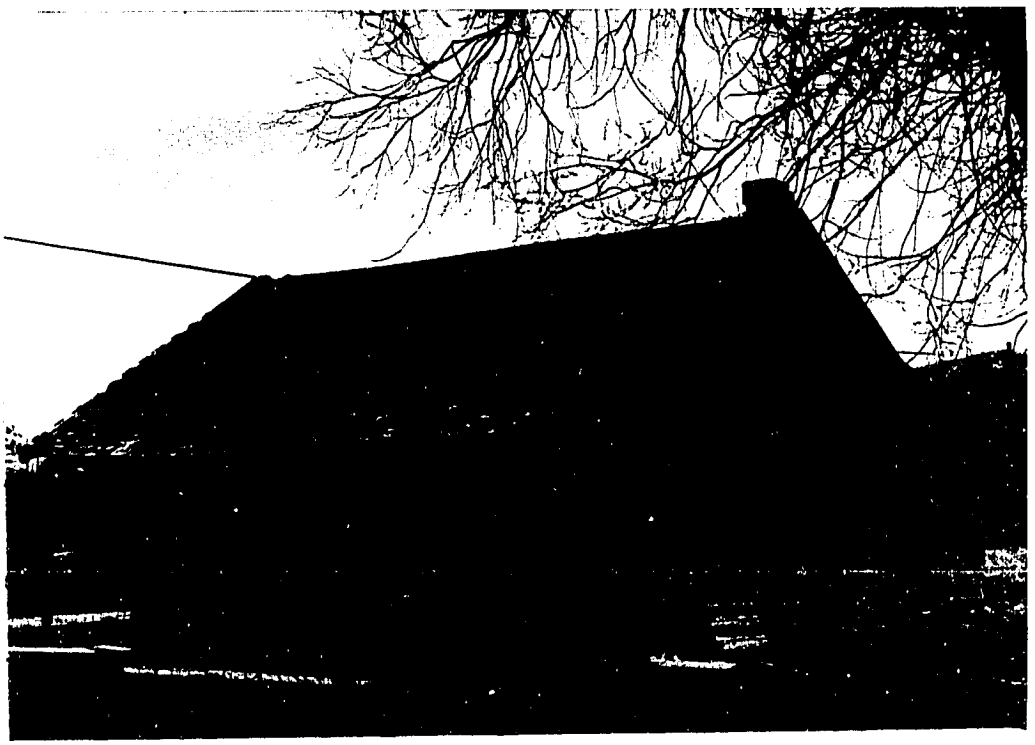


Figure 43: Type VI. Ivan Petersen house, Spring City, 8-46/SP-17-216. 1 story stone XY^2 house with gable-end stove chimneys, c.1870. The adobe rear ell, also a XY^2 house, dates from the late nineteenth century (5/2/79).



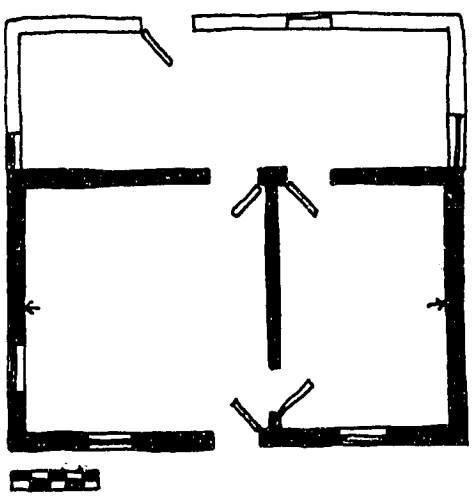


Figure 44. Type VI. Dorthea Nielsen house, Ephraim, 2-4/SP-06-02. 1 story adobe $\overline{XY^2}$ house with original lean-to extension, c.1870. Demolished in 1981, this was probably the home of a plural wife.

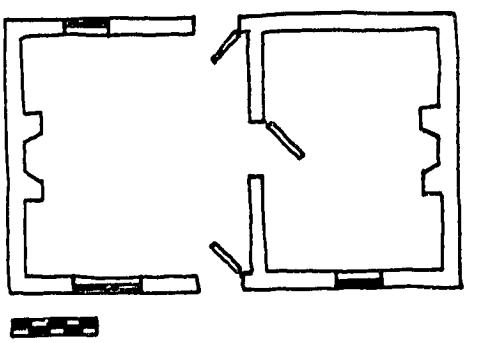
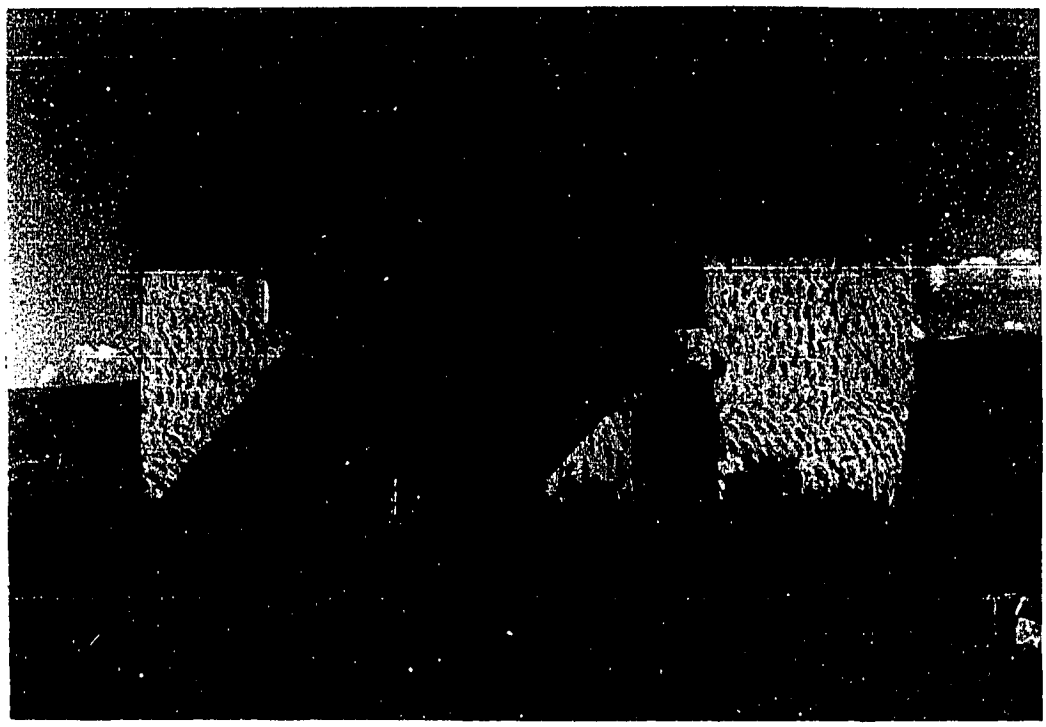


Figure 45: Type VII. Nephi Rees house, Wales, 10-8/SP-19-46. 1 1/2 story adobe $\overline{XY^2}$ house, c.1865. The house has been extensively remodeled, photo c.1930 (5/14/79).



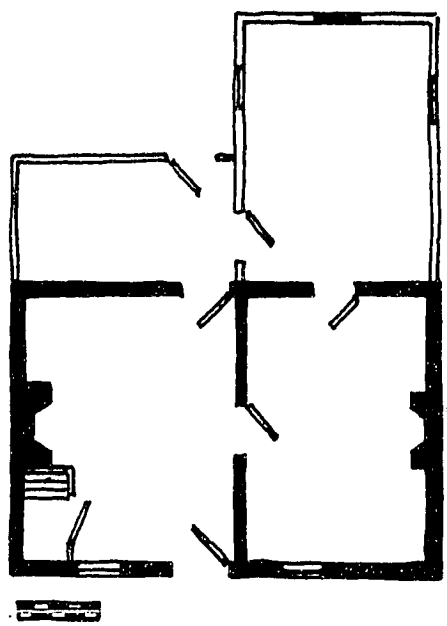


Figure 46: Type VII. Rosser Thomas house, Wales, 10-7/SP-19-60. 1 1/2 story plastered brick XY^2 house, 1876. There is a c.1900 frame ell on the rear and the bungalow porch and textured stuccoed walls are early twentieth century additions (10/6/83).

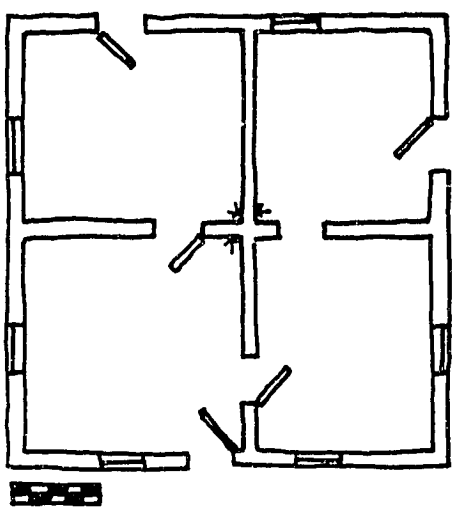


Figure 47: Type VIII. Christensen/Green house, Mt. Pleasant, 7-12/SP-16-423. 1 story, plastered adobe double-pile XY^2 house, c.1875 (5/3/79).

Figure 48: Type IX. Hans Madsen house, Spring City, 8-50/SP-17-224. 1 story adobe irregular XY^2 house, c.1870. Photo c. 1890.

Figure 49: Type IX. Conrad Kjeldsen house, Ephraim, 2-16/SP-C6-89. 1 story plastered adobe irregular XY^2 house, c.1879. C.1930 photo shows scored "bricking" plaster over the adobe walls.

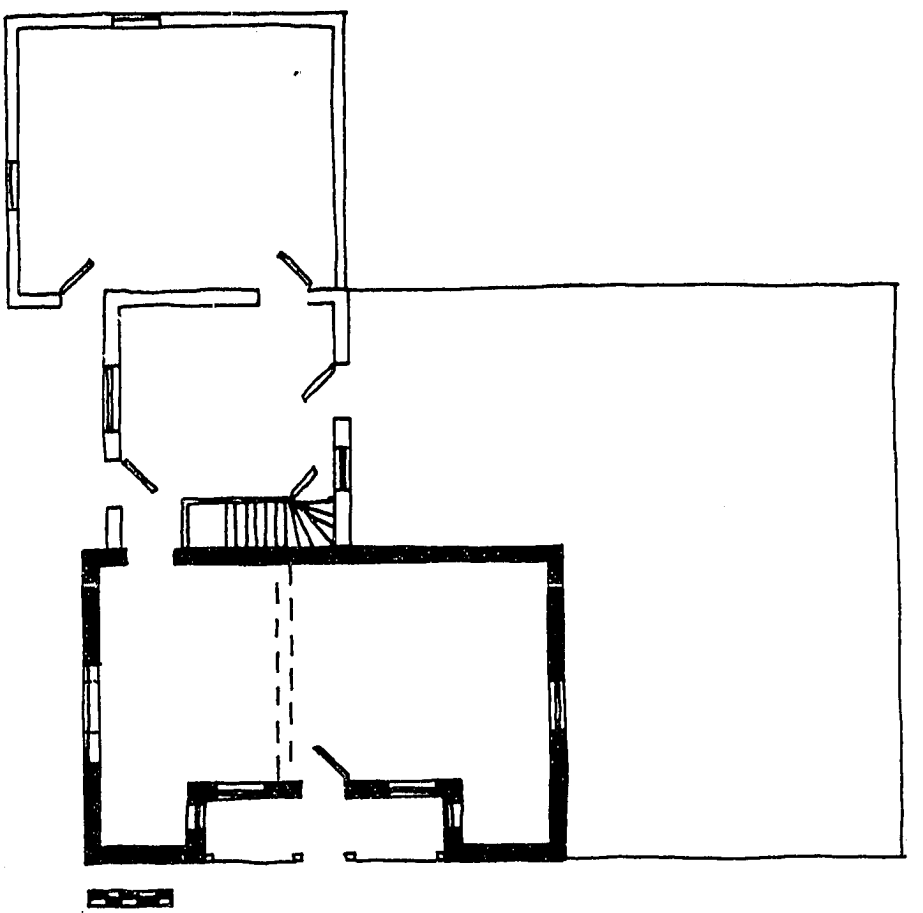


Figure 50: Type IX. Kjeldsen house floorplan (5/17/79).

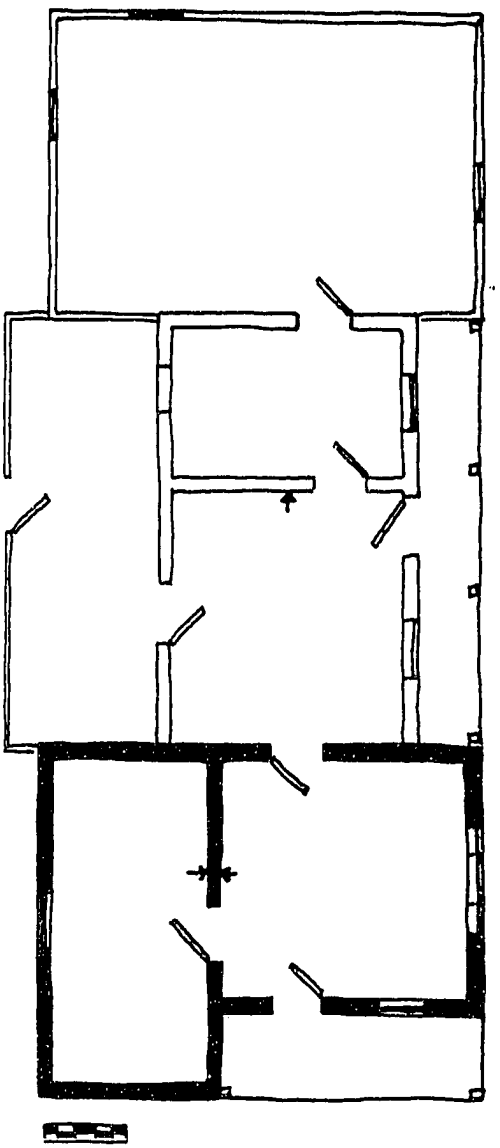


Figure 51: Type IX. Madsen house floorplan (11/9/78).

Hall-Parlor Houses [XY^1], Types X,XI,XII,XIII.

The most common dwelling type in the Sanpete Valley during the nineteenth century was the hall-parlor house. This two room house shares the asymmetrical internal arrangment of the rectangular cabin form yet may be distinguished both by its size and compositional flexibility. Hall-parlor houses are between 30 and 34 feet wide and are usually about 18 feet deep. They have the familiar tripartite symmetrical facade, but it may be divided into either three or five bays. Chimneys are often placed at the gable ends, but may also be located off-center internally on the ridge (see figures 52, 53, and 54). Most examples in the valley have original or added rear kitchen wings. The house is encountered in 1, 1 1/2, and 2 storey types and while occurring most regularly as a single pile dwelling, several double pile examples have been recorded (figure 67). Over 300 of these houses continue to stand in the valley and constitute thirty-seven percent of the total housing survey.

The hall-parlor house is a two cell British form from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[15] The name is derived from the functions of the two rooms; the larger square room, or hall, was the principal living area of the home and the smaller side room was reserved for special purposes and is often called the "best" room or parlor. During the American colonial period it was found primarily in the South where it became the main dwelling type in most tidewater regions during the eighteenth century.[16] The hall-parlor house's popularity declined during the nineteenth century in the wake of the ascendency of the central passageway form, but continued as part of the folk carpenter's

building vocabulary in most areas of the Midwest and South.[17] It was found at Nauvoo and became the quintessential Mormon house in the west.[18]

Figure 52: Type X. Johnson/Blain house, Spring City, 8-4/SP-17-23. 1 story stone XY[1] house with original ell, c.1875-1880.

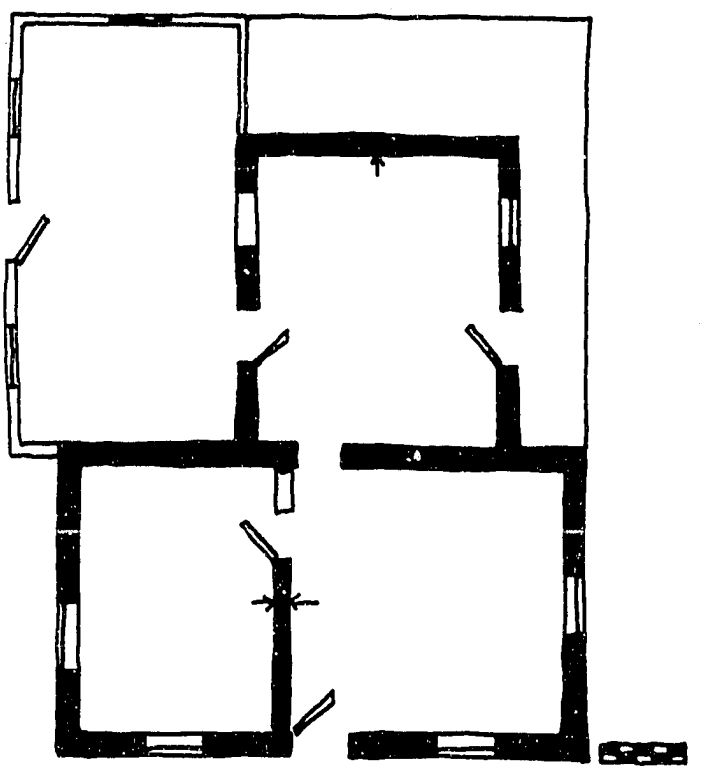
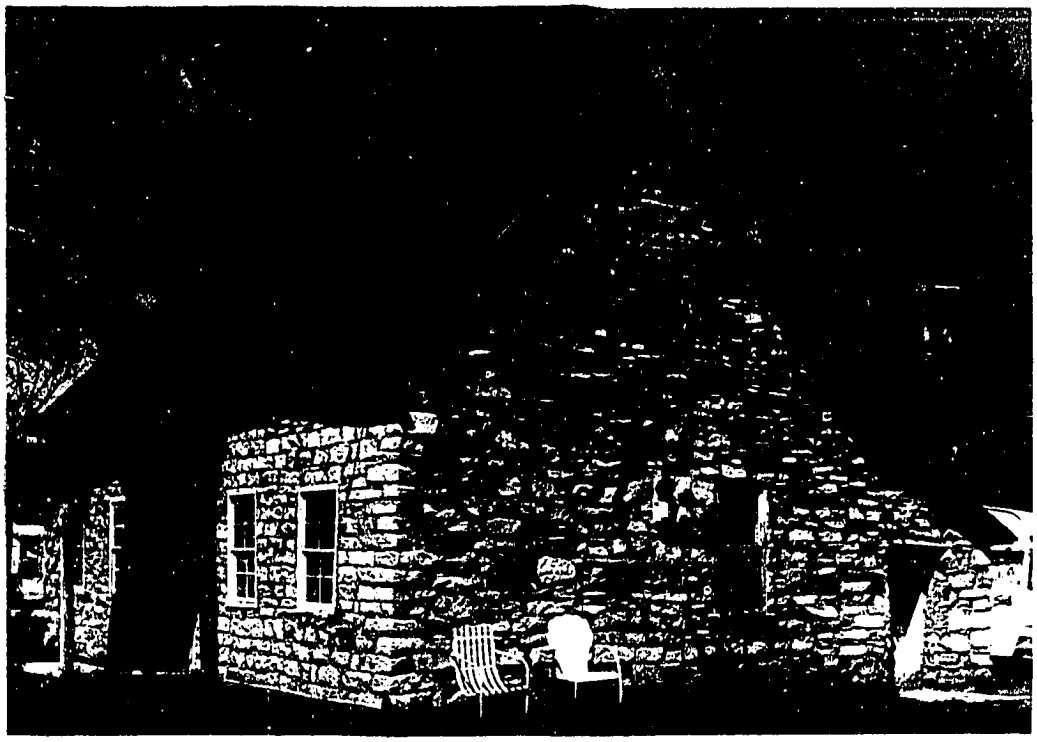


Figure 53: Floorplan of the Johnson/Blain house, Spring City (8/4/78).



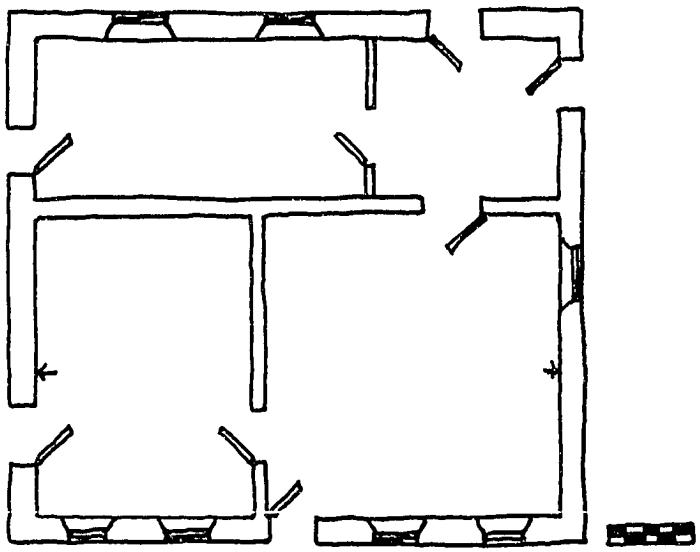
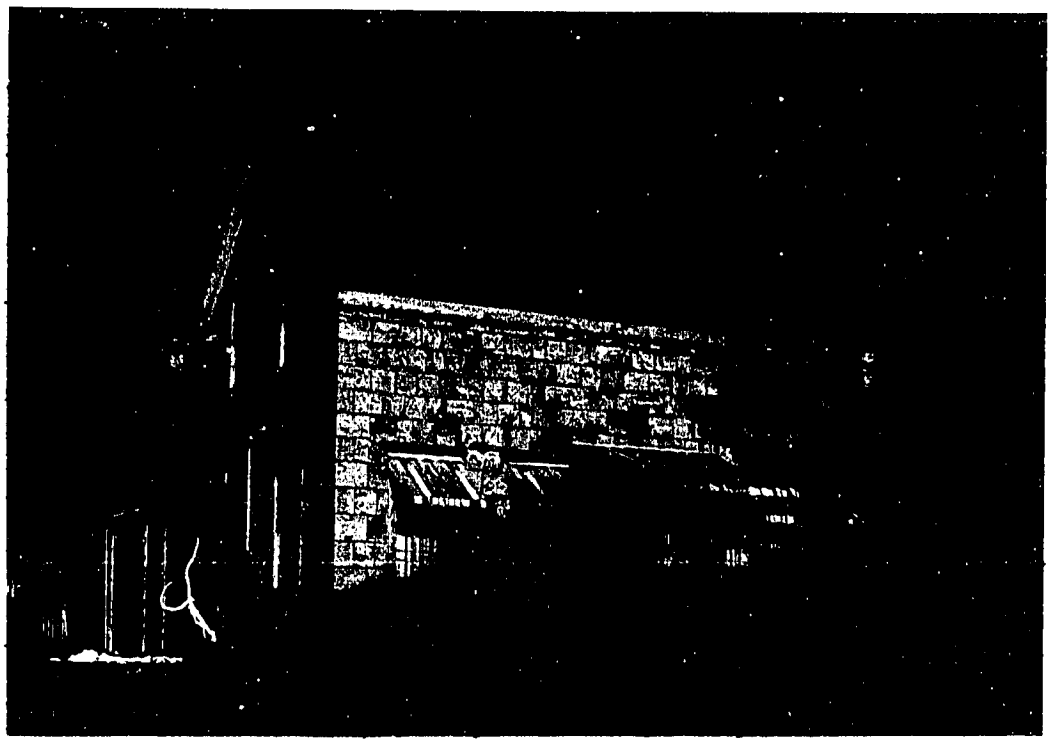


Figure 54: Type X. Rasmus Johnson house, Ephraim, 2-48/SP-06-423. 1 story stone XYI house with original lean-to extension, c.1865 (4/27/79).



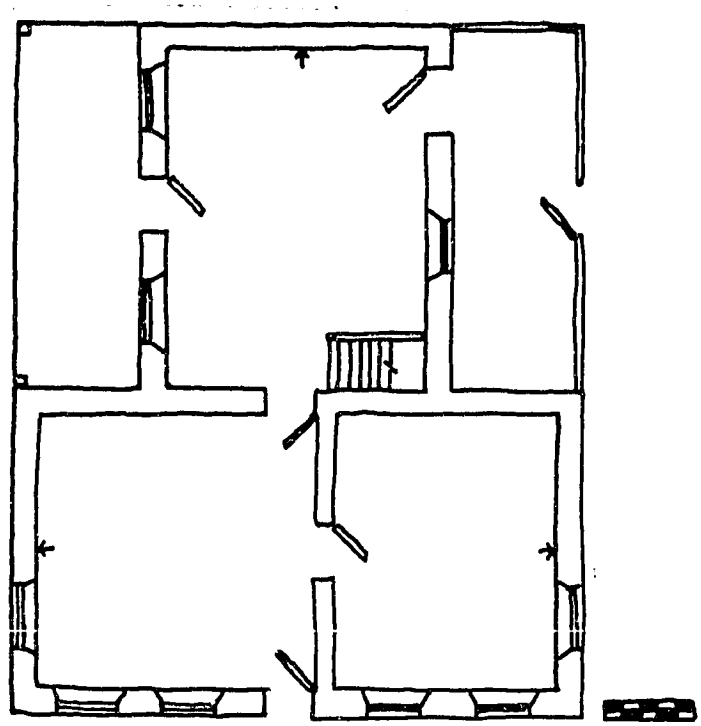


Figure 55: Type XI. Redick Allred house, Spring City, 8-20/SP-17-86. 1 1/2 story stone XY[1] house with orignal rear ell, c.1875 (10/23/79).

Figure 56: Type XI. Andrew Bjengaard house, Ephraim, 2-5/SP-06-08. 1 1/2 story plastered adobe XY^{1} house with original ell and attached summer kitchen.

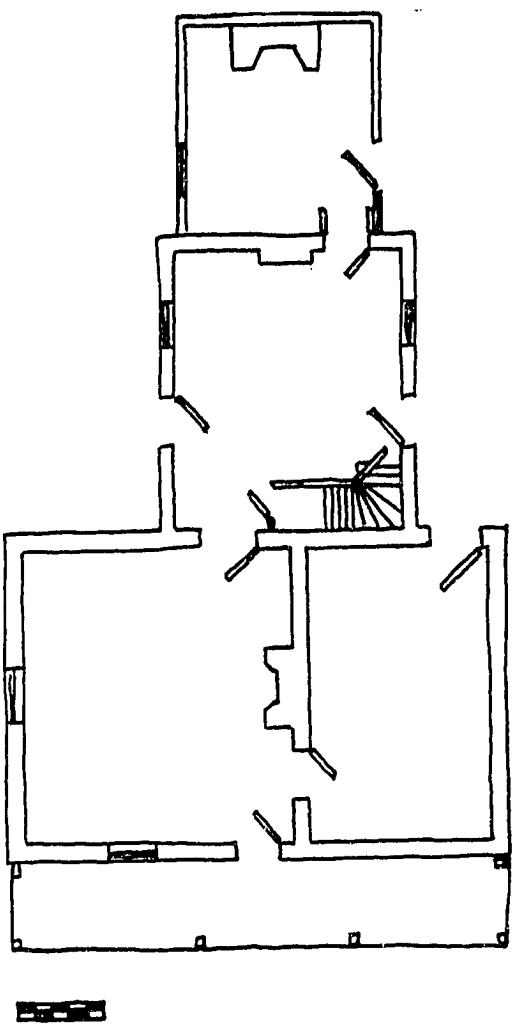


Figure 57: Floorplan of the Bjengaard house, Ephraim (5/1/79).

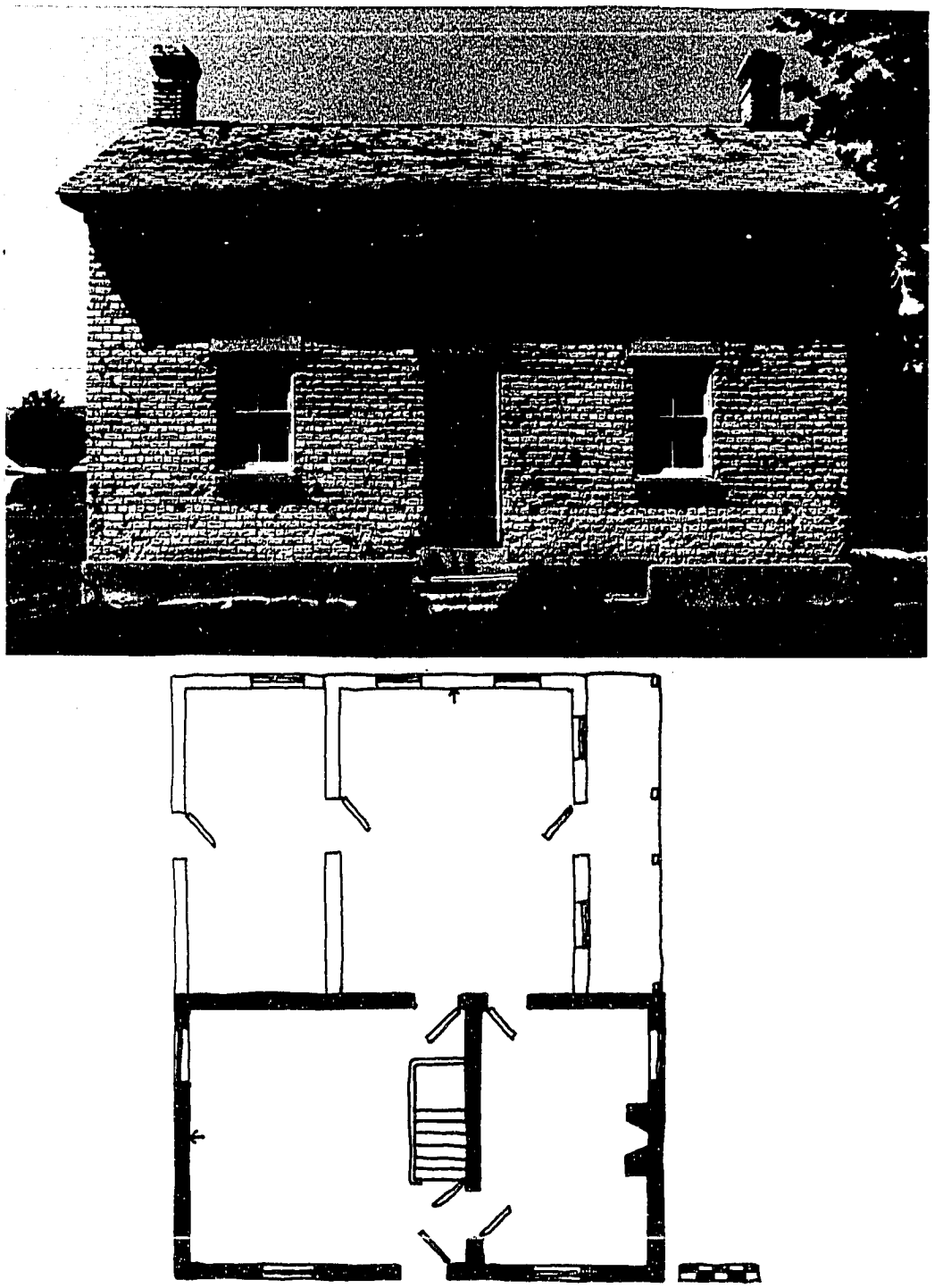


Figure 58: Type XI. Billings/Hougaard house, Manti, 5-52/SP-13-631. 1 1/2 story adobe XY[1] house, c.1855-1860. Additions include a c.1880 rear adobe ell (3/6/79).

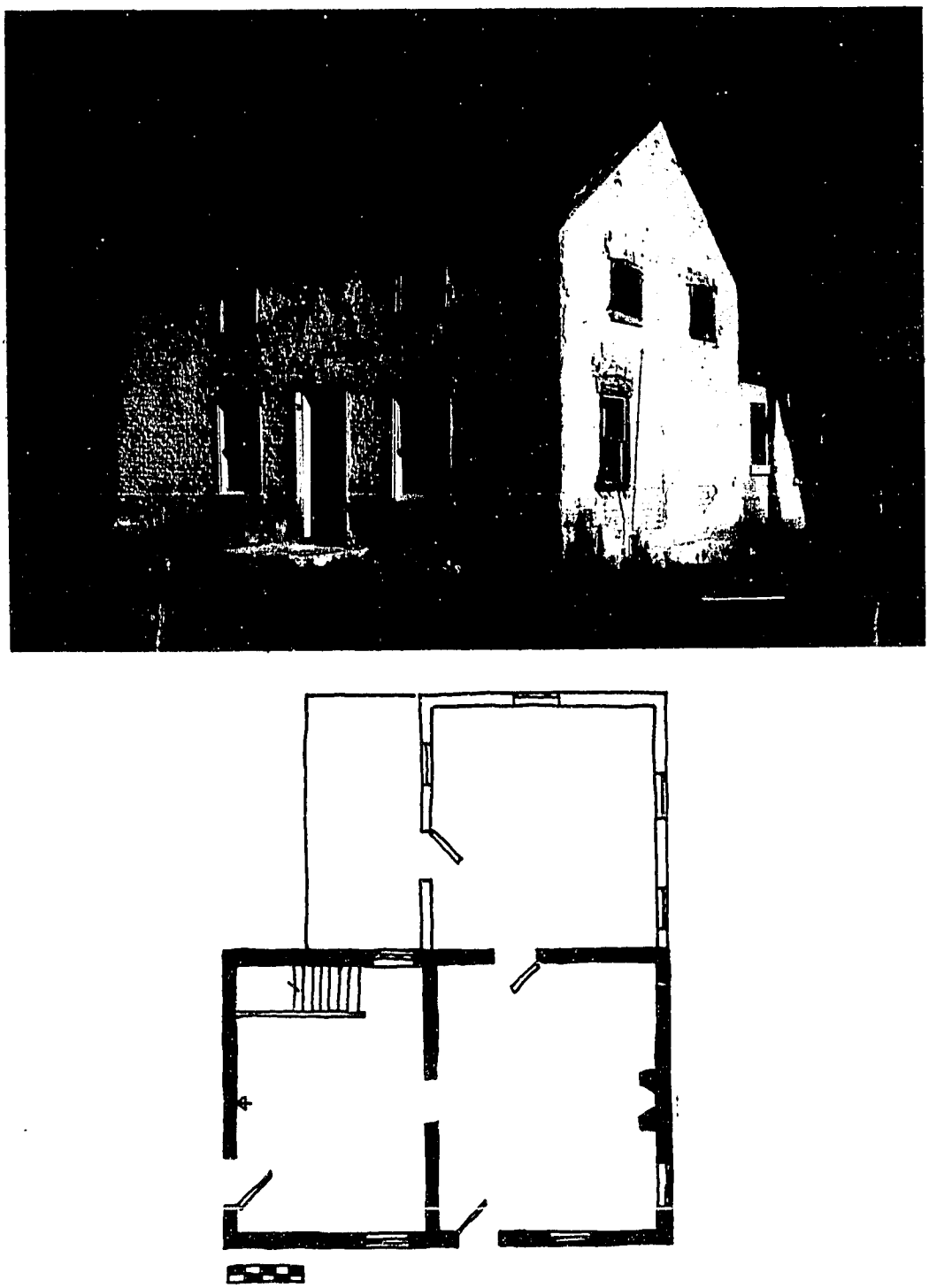
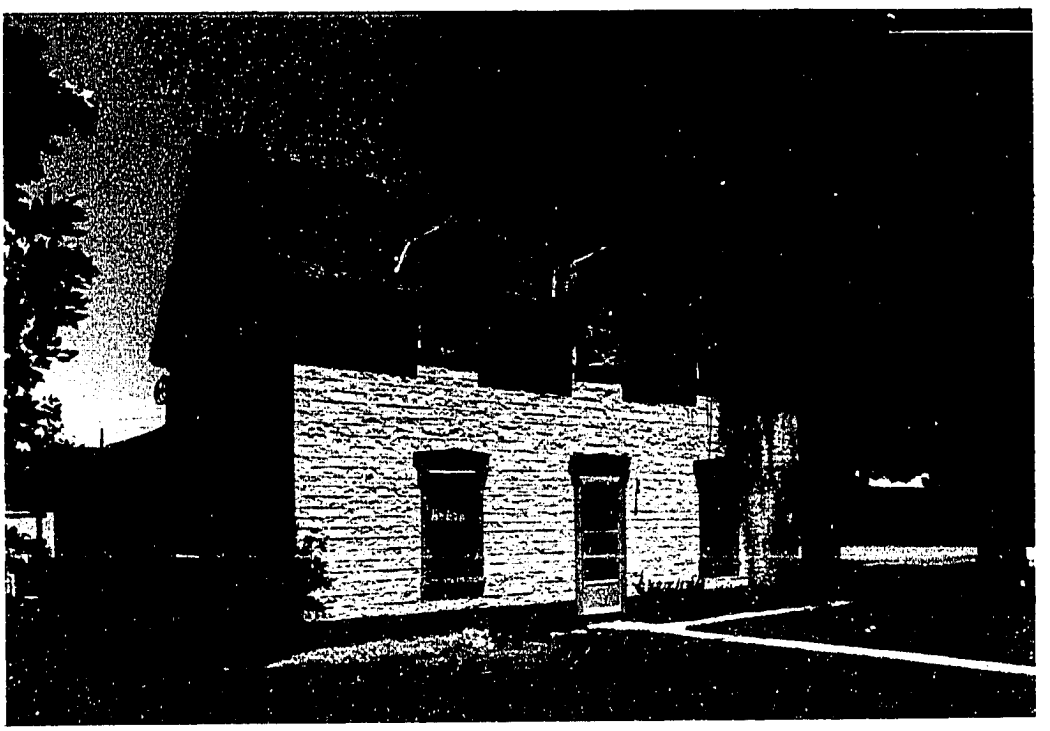


Figure 59: Type XI. John Oldham house, Mt. Pleasant, 6- /SP-16-374. 1 1/2 story plastered adobe XY^1 house, c. 1865-1870. There is a c.1950 cement block addition on the rear (5/16/79).



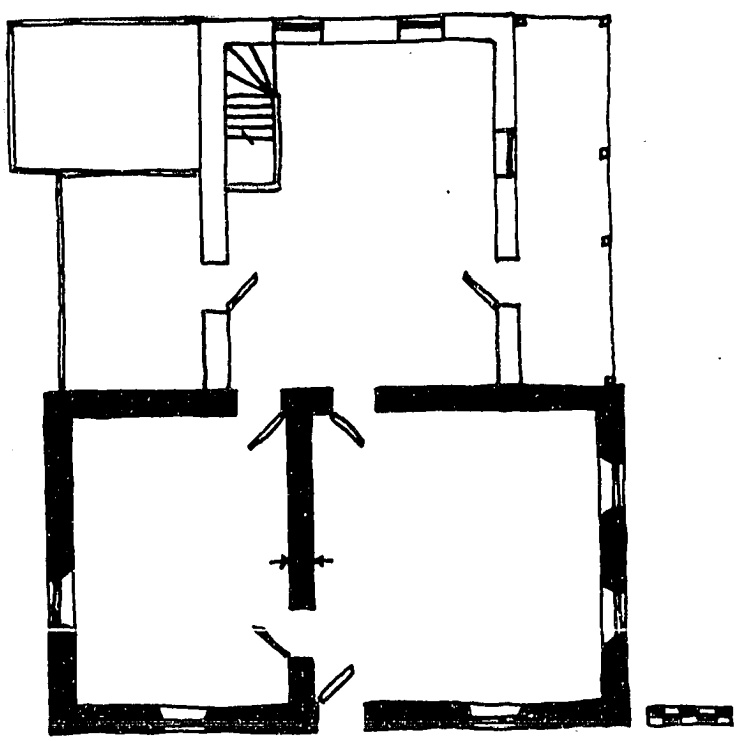
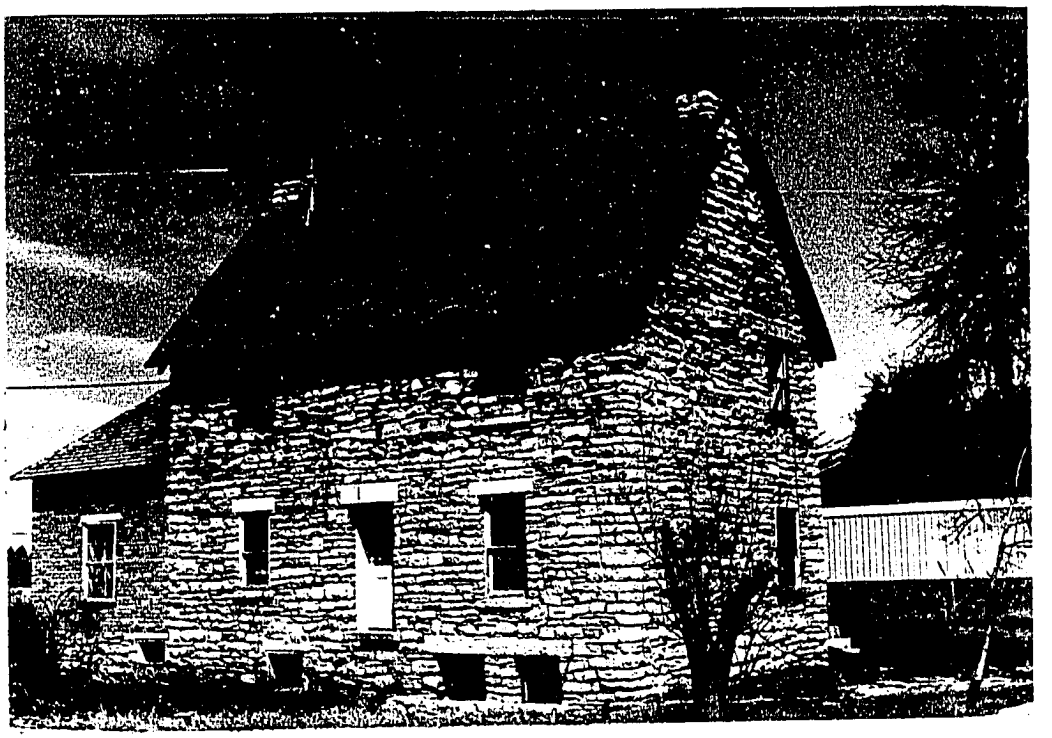


Figure 60: Type XI. August Andersen house, Ephraim, 2- /SP-06-331. 1 1/2 story stone XY[1] house, c. 1872-1878. C.1890 rear ell (5/17/79).



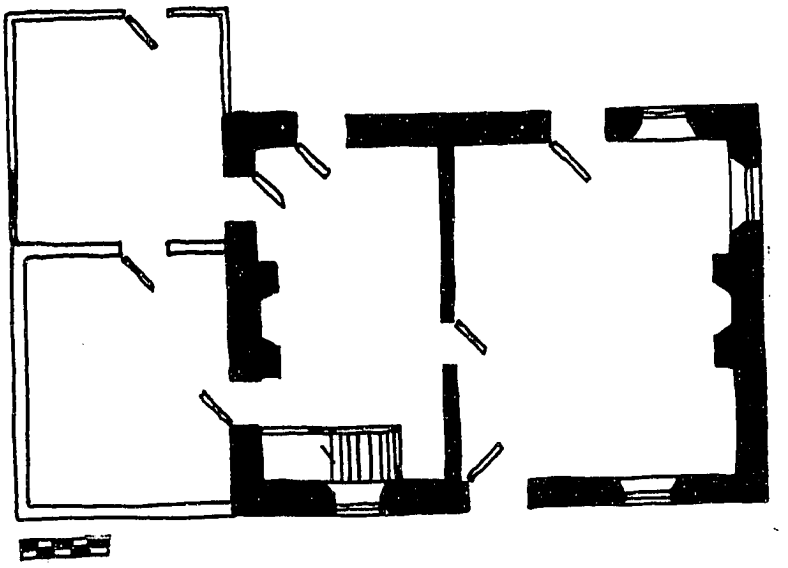
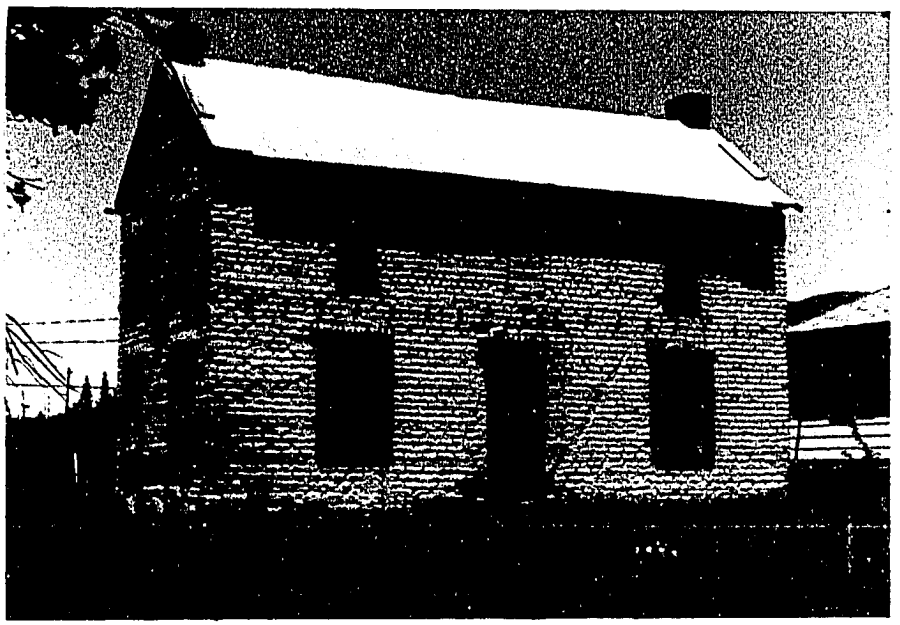


Figure 61: Type XII. John Patten house, Manti, 5-54/SP-13-625. 2 story stone XVI house, c.1855-1860. There is a c.1900 brick addition to the side (4/21/79).



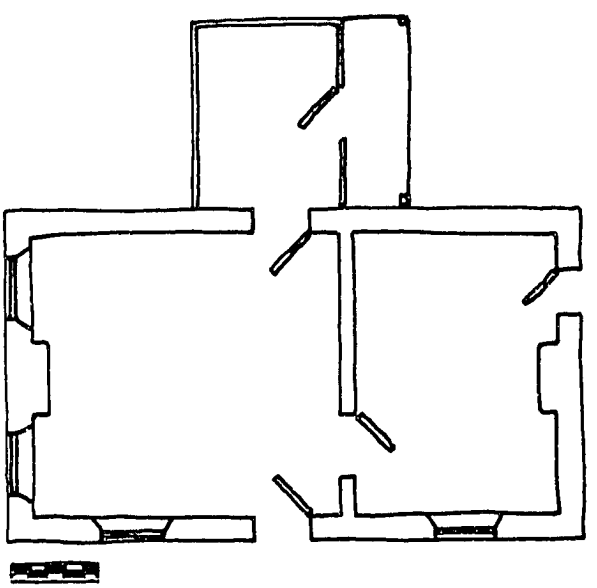


Figure 62: Type XII. Issac Vance house, Fairview, 3-9/SP-07-140. 2 story adobe XY[1] house, c.1865-1870 (5/14/79).

Figure 63: Type XII. Charles Crawforth House, Spring City, 8-54/SP-17-311. 2 story stone XY^1 house, c.1880. The Crawforth house, like several other houses in the valley, is unusual in that the facade openings on the two levels do not line up symmetrically. Both storeys are symmetrical in their own right; the first is composed of an odd number of regular spaced bays and the second an even number. Working from the rules for piercing the facade, it is obvious that the bottom floor must be an XY^1 house and the upper floor an XX house (see figure 63). This mixing of base concepts is another indication of the design freedom allowed within the valley's architectural tradition.[19]

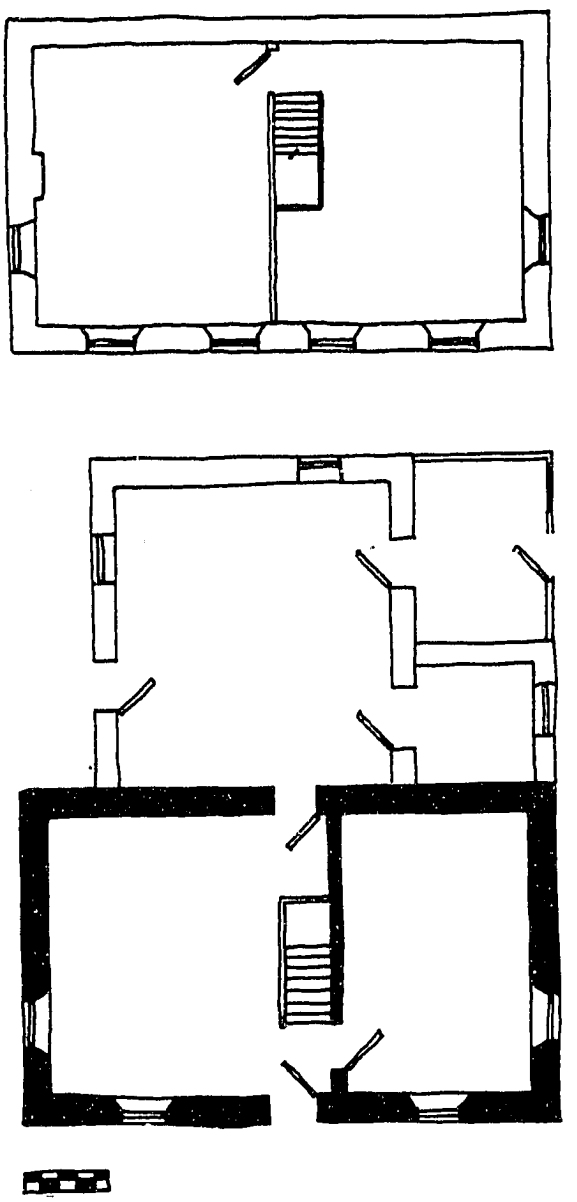


Figure 64: First and second story floorplans, Crawforth house.

Figure 65: Type XII. Behunnin Beck house, Spring City, 8-/SP-17-69. 2 story stone XY[1] house with original ell, c.1880.

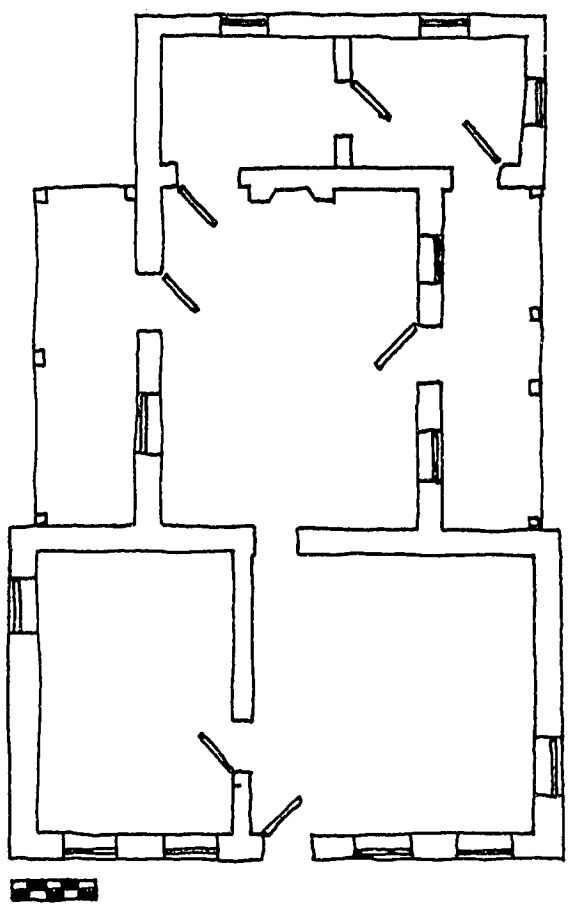


Figure 66: Floorplan of the Behunnin-Beck house, Spring City, (10-17-78).

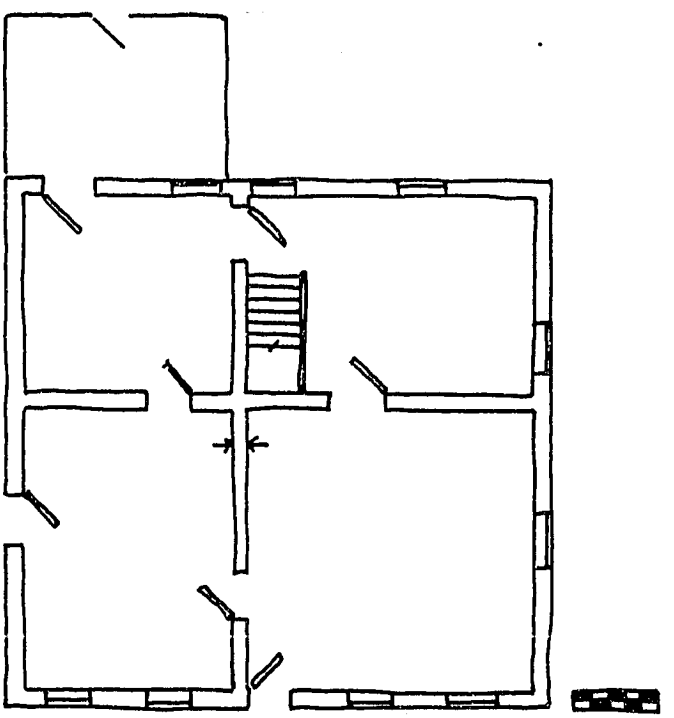


Figure 67: Type XIII. Hans Andersen house, Ephraim, 2-42/SP-06-367. 1 1/2 story plastered adobe double-pile XY[1] house, c.1870 (3-13-79).

Temple Form Houses, Types XIV,XV,XVI,XVII,XVIII.

The temple form house finds its origins in the Greek Revival style of American architecture[20] and is characterized by the turning of the geometric block so that its narrow end faces forward toward the street. In the Sanpete Valley, temple form houses were generated out of nearly all of the geometric base concepts and therefore there is great variety in the size of these houses. There are five main types of temple form houses: the temple form itself, consisting of the single detached block (figures 68-72); the cruciform, the block with two side wings (figures 73-75), the cross wing, where only one side wing is crossed by the central block (figures 76-81); the cross wing with passageway, which has a entrance-staircase hall inserted into the side wing (figures 82 and 83); and one house, the double cross wing type, where two forward facing blocks are hypenated by a connecting wing (Figure 84).[21]

During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, American architects increasingly turned from their Palladian-derived models toward the classical prototypes of ancient Greece itself. The result was the creation of a distinctive Greek Revival architectural style.[22] While the style surfaced in domestic building mainly as a series of decorative elements such as a low pitched roof, entablatures, pilasters, and pedimented cornice returns, a distinctive house type emerged in the Northeast which had its "pedimented end toward the street."[23] This house, called the "temple form" house after is similarity to Greek monumental buildings, is often seen in New England areas fronted by colossal columns.[24] A scaled-down variant of the house is known through New England and was carried westward into the

upper Midwest and eventually to Mormon Utah by Yankee immigrants.[25]

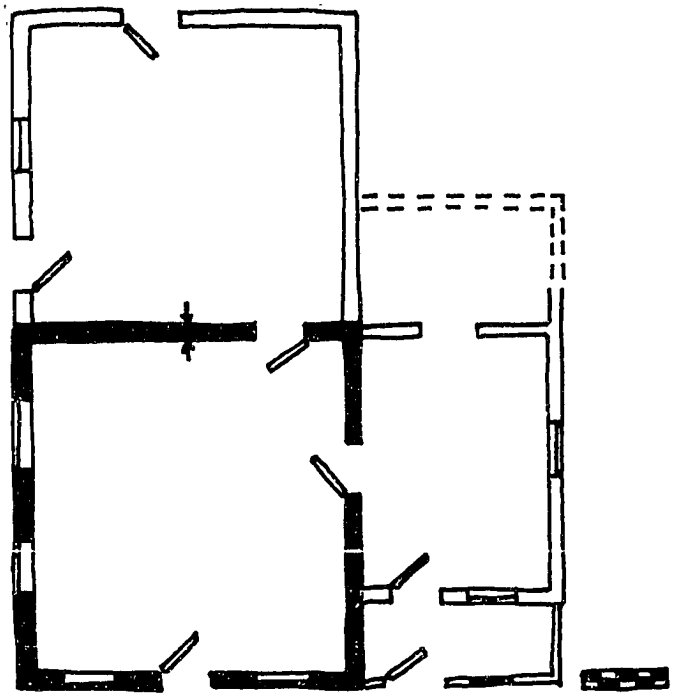


Figure 68: Type XIV. Ole Swensen house, Manti, 5-7/SP-13-94. 1 1/2 story adobe temple form house, c.1860. Rear X addition, c.1890.

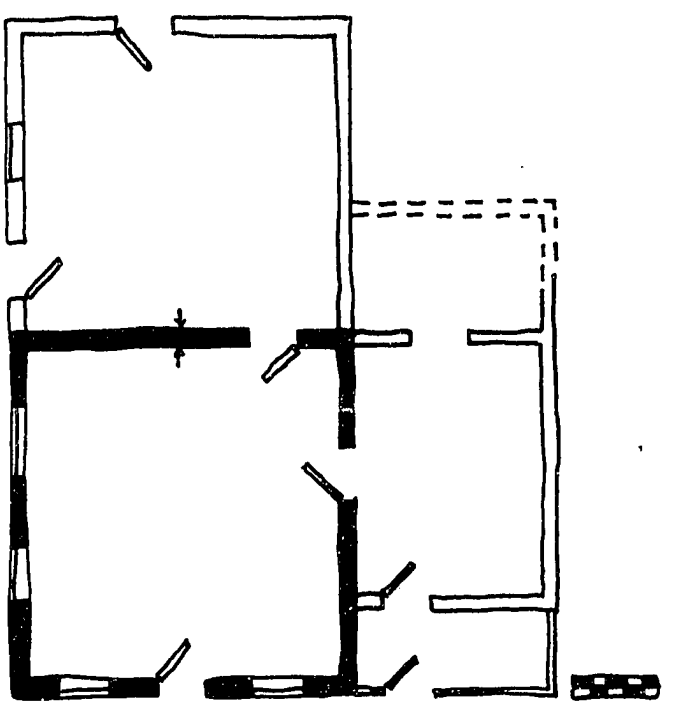


Figure 69: Floorplan of the Ole Swensen house, Manti (3/27/79).

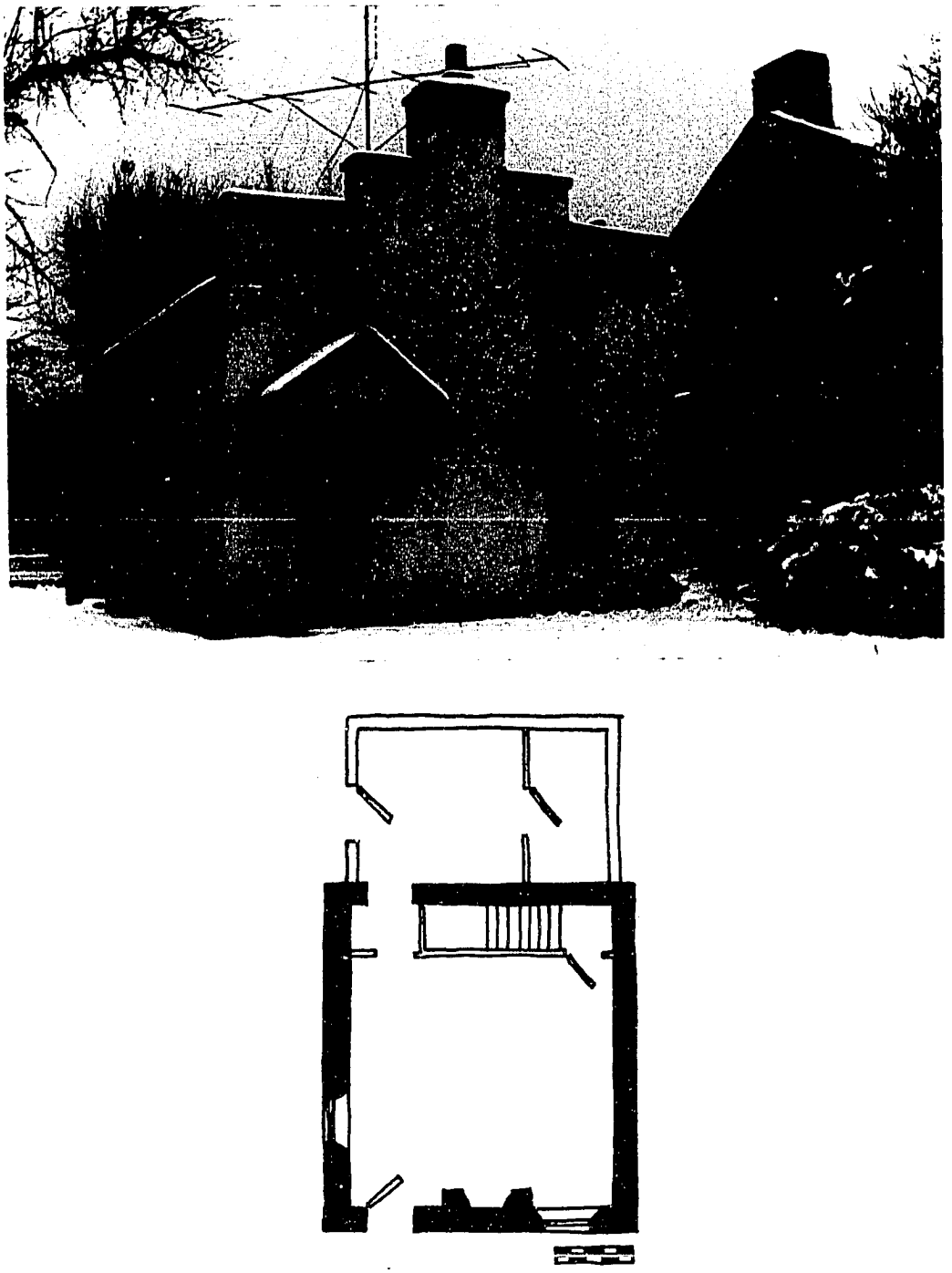


Figure 70: Type XIV. Cox house, Manti, 5-33/SP-13-411. 1 1/2 story plastered stone temple form house, c.1865. The stepped gable, reminiscent of Mormon building at Nauvoo, is unique in the Sanpete Valley (4/6/79).

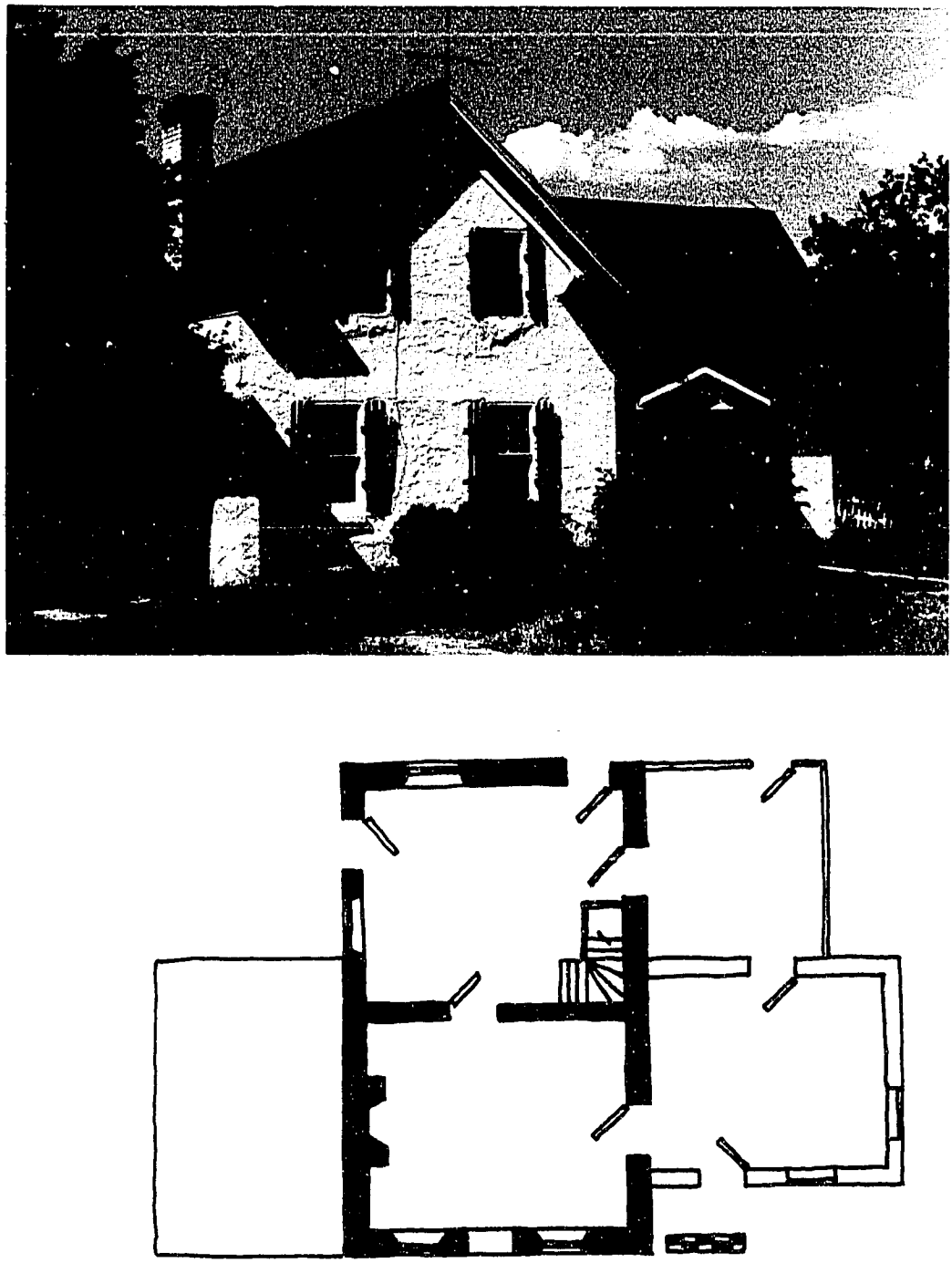


Figure 71: Type XIV. George Pectol house, Manti, 1 1/2 story plastered stone temple form house, c. 1850-1860. Additions include a c.1880 side wing and a twentieth century garage (8/1/78).

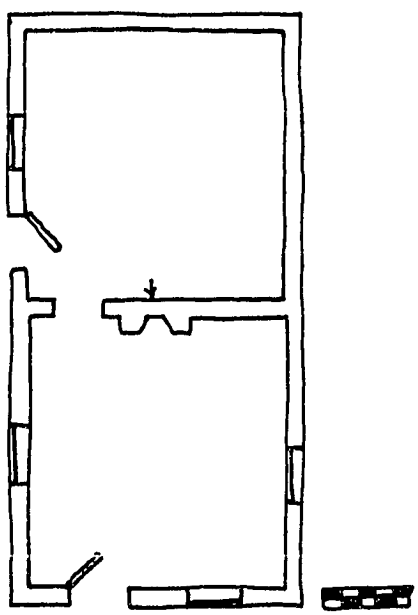


Figure 72: Type XIV. Freeborn Demill house, Manti, 5-35/SP-13-405. 1 1/2 story adobe temple form house, c.1890 (5/25/79).

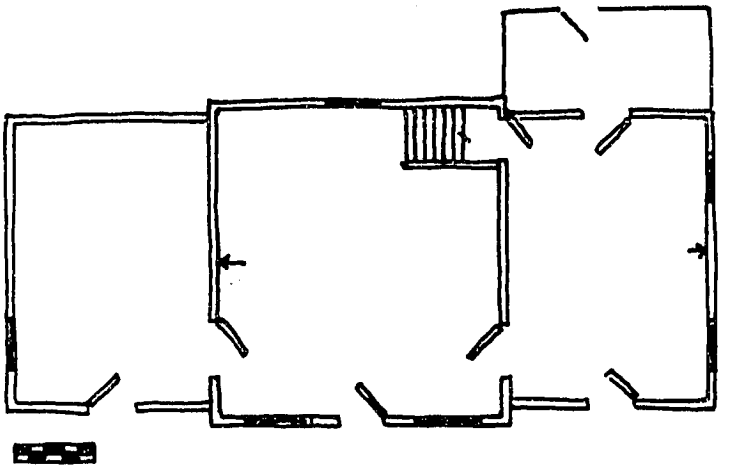


Figure 73: Type XV. William Reynolds house, Mt. Pleasant, 7-8/SP-16-365. 1 1/2 story frame cruciform house, c. 1875-1880 (5/2/79)..

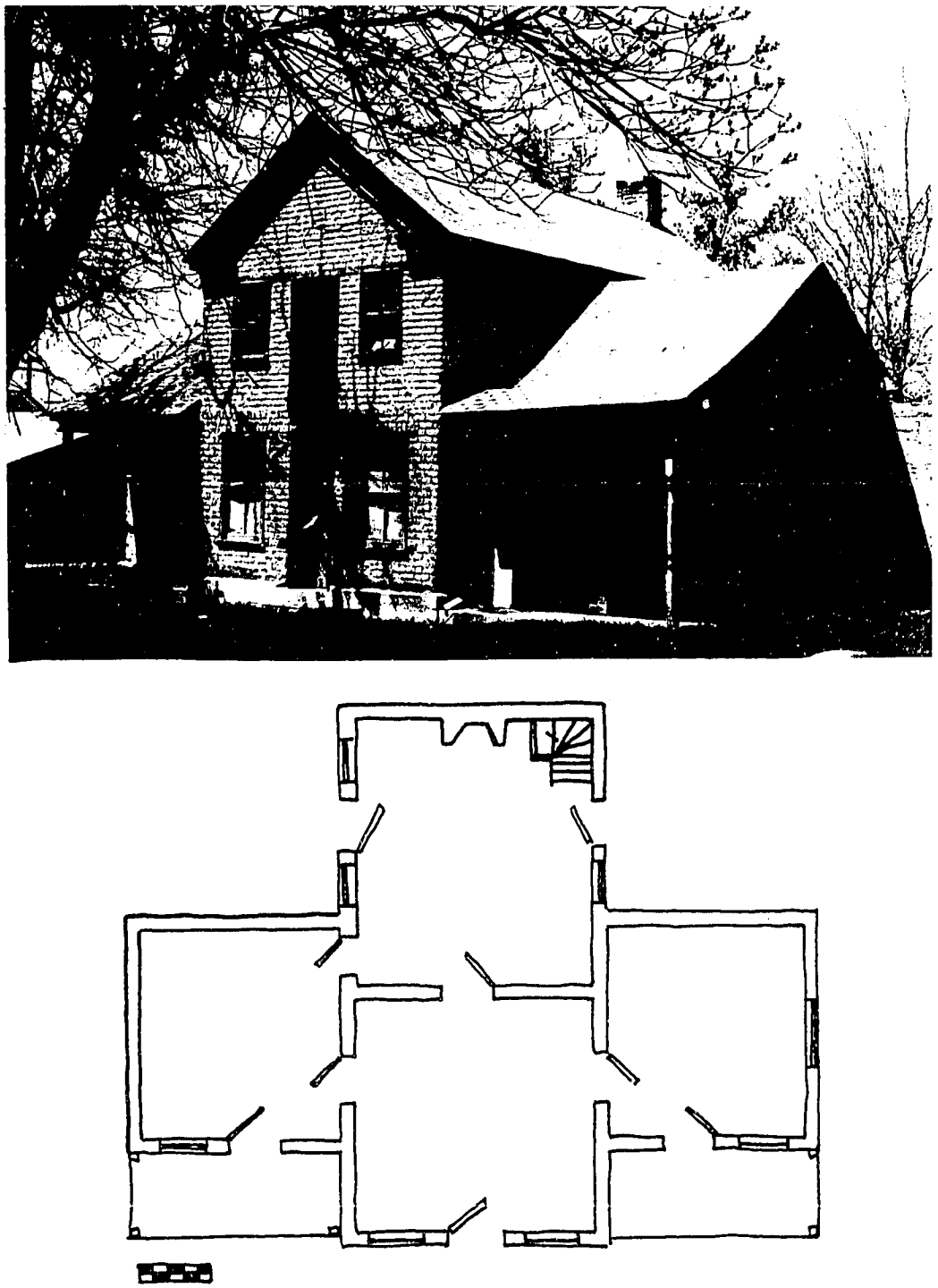


Figure 74: Type XV. Alma Staker house, Mt. Pleasant, 7-11/SP-16-392. 1 1/2 story adobe cruciform house, c. 1870 (6/16/78).

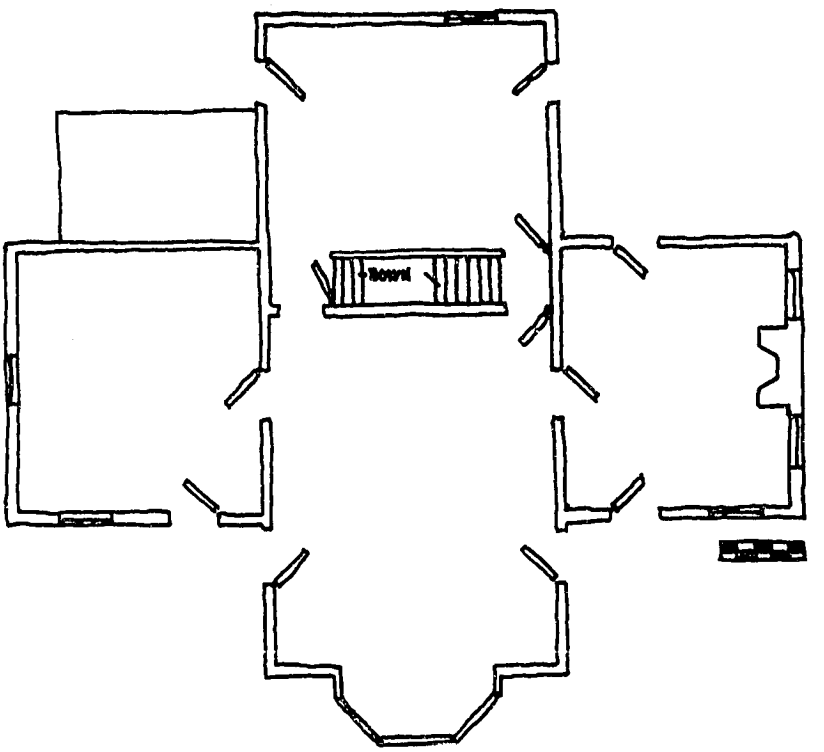


Figure 75: Type XV. Levi Pritchett house, Mt. Pleasant, 7-16/SP-16-455. 1 1/2 story frame cruciform house, c. 1880 (11/24/81).

Figure 76: Type XVI. Peter Greaves house, Ephraim, 2-17/SP-06-105. 2 story stone cross-wing house, c. 1874.

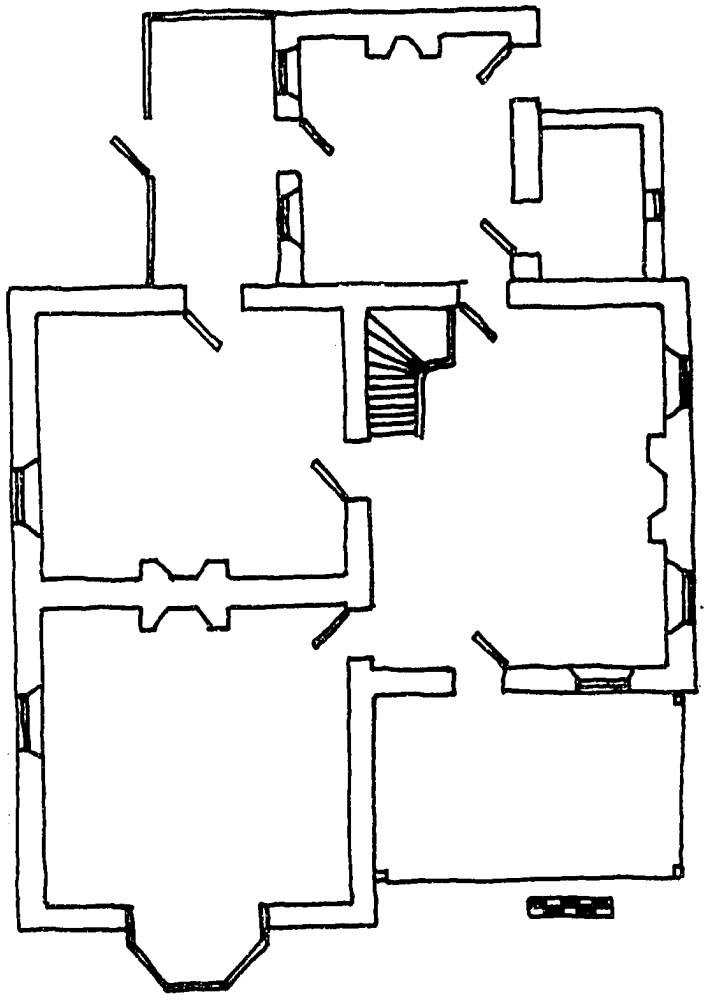


Figure 77: Floorplan of the Greaves house, Ephraim (4/23/79)

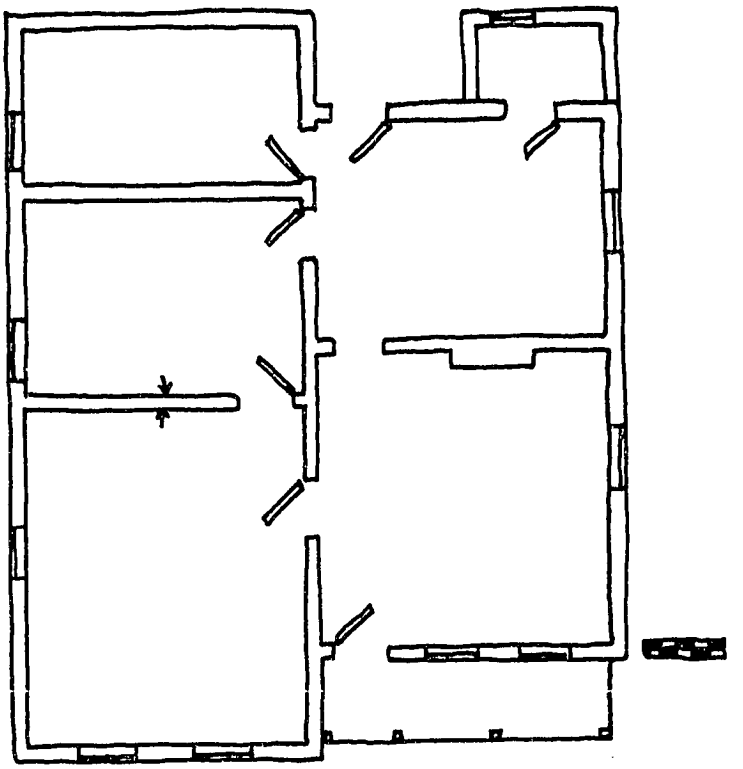


Figure 78: Type XVI. James C. Livingston house, Fountain Green, 1 story brick cross wing house, c.1880. Livingston built identical houses for his two wives (4/27/82).

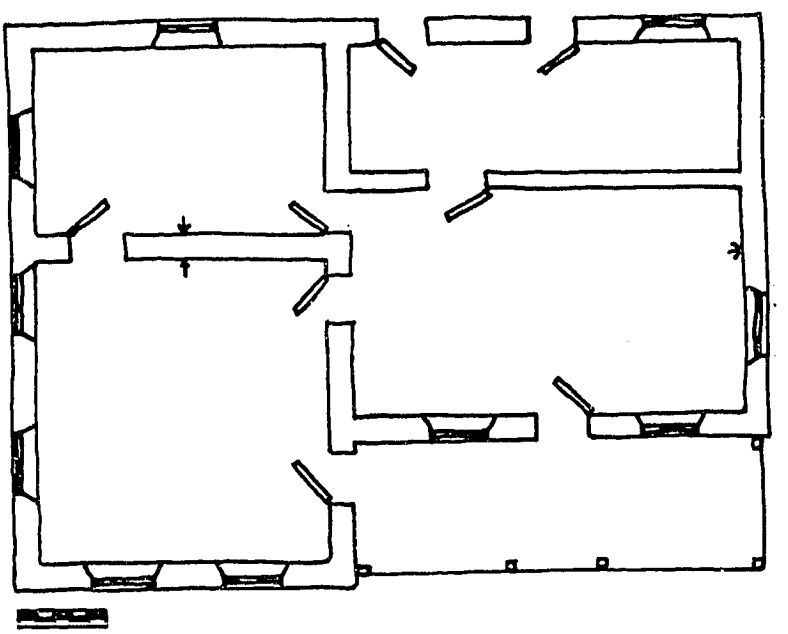


Figure 79: Type XVI. Neils Peter Hjort house, Fairview, 3-7/SP-07-107. 1 1/2 story stone cross wing house, c.1875 (9-28-78).

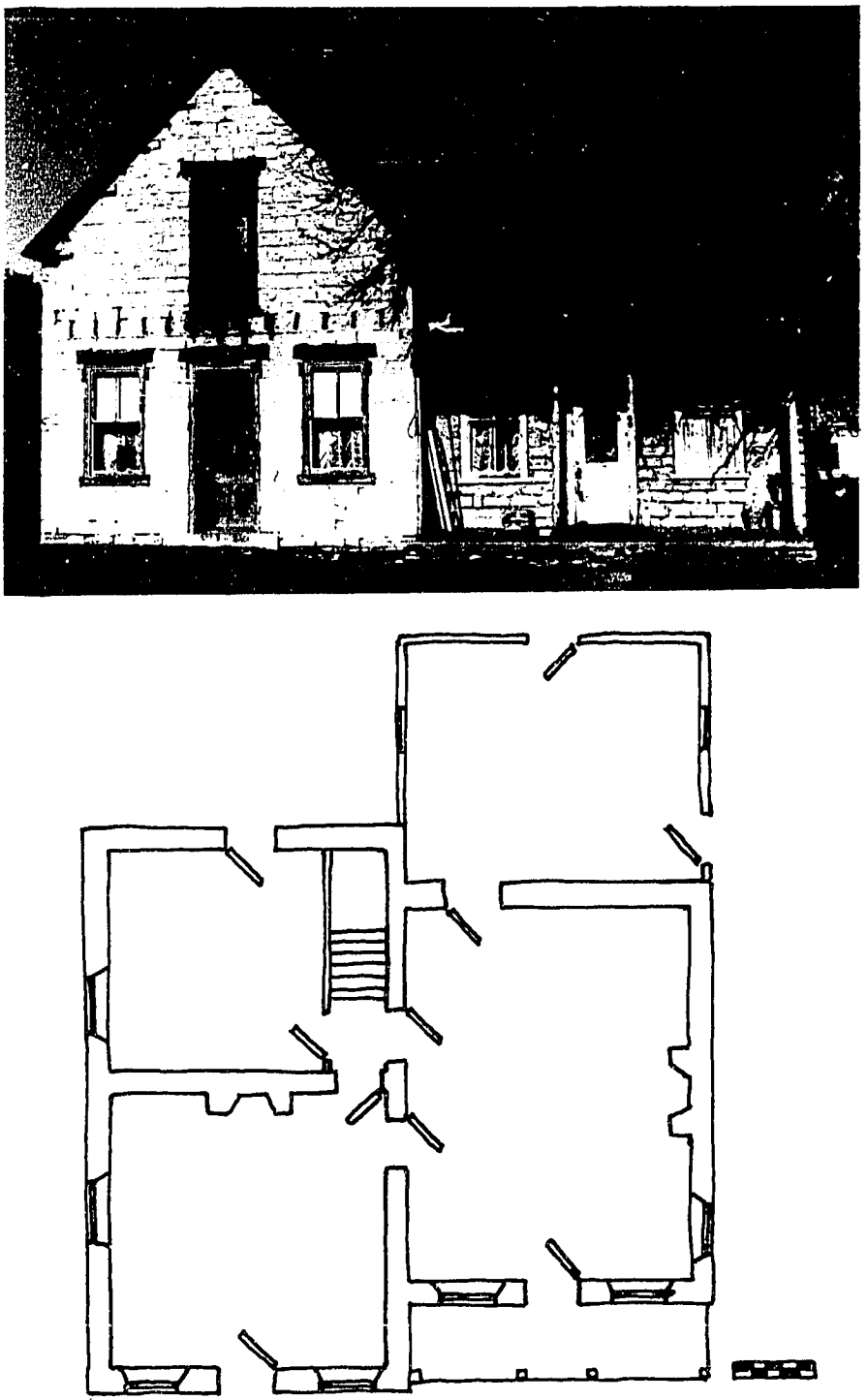


Figure 80: Type XVI. Soren Hansen house, Manti, 5-24/SP-13-314. 1 1/2 story stone cross wing house, c.1870 (4/21/79).

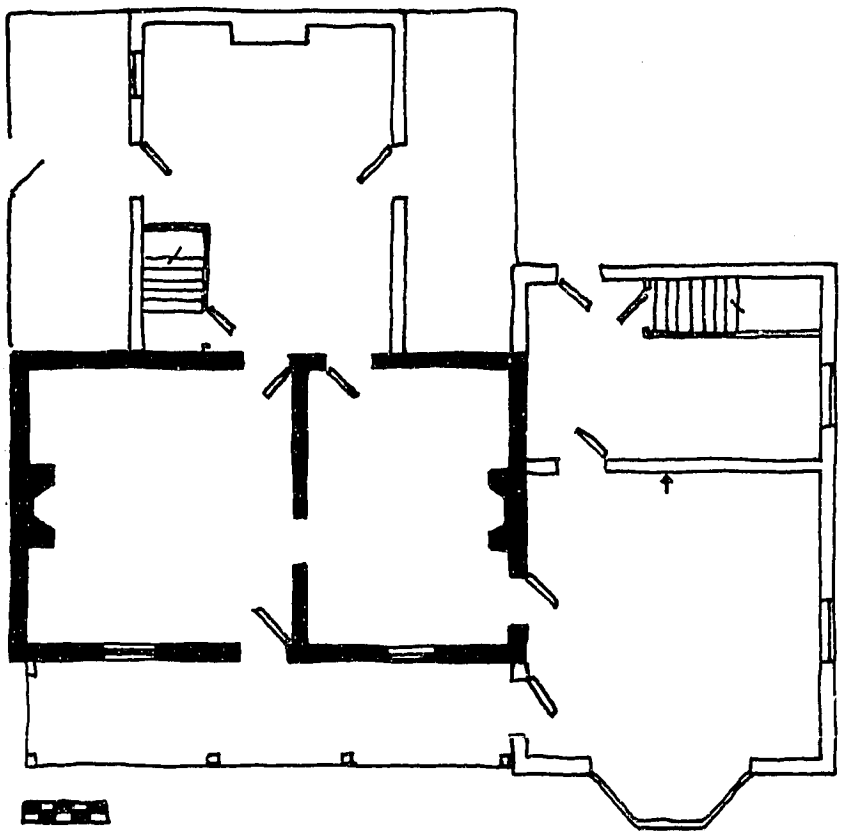


Figure 81: Type XVI. Christian Kjar house, Manti, 5-19/SP-13-277. 1 story brick XVI house c.1870 with cross wing added c.1890 (4/19/79).

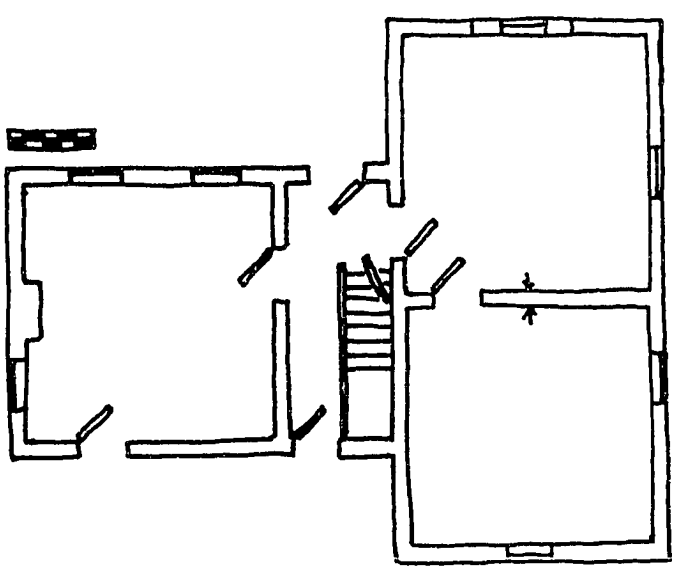


Figure 82: Type XVII. Henry Lamb house, Wales, 10-5/SP-19-33. 1 1/2 story brick central passageway cross wing house, c.1880 (6/8/82).

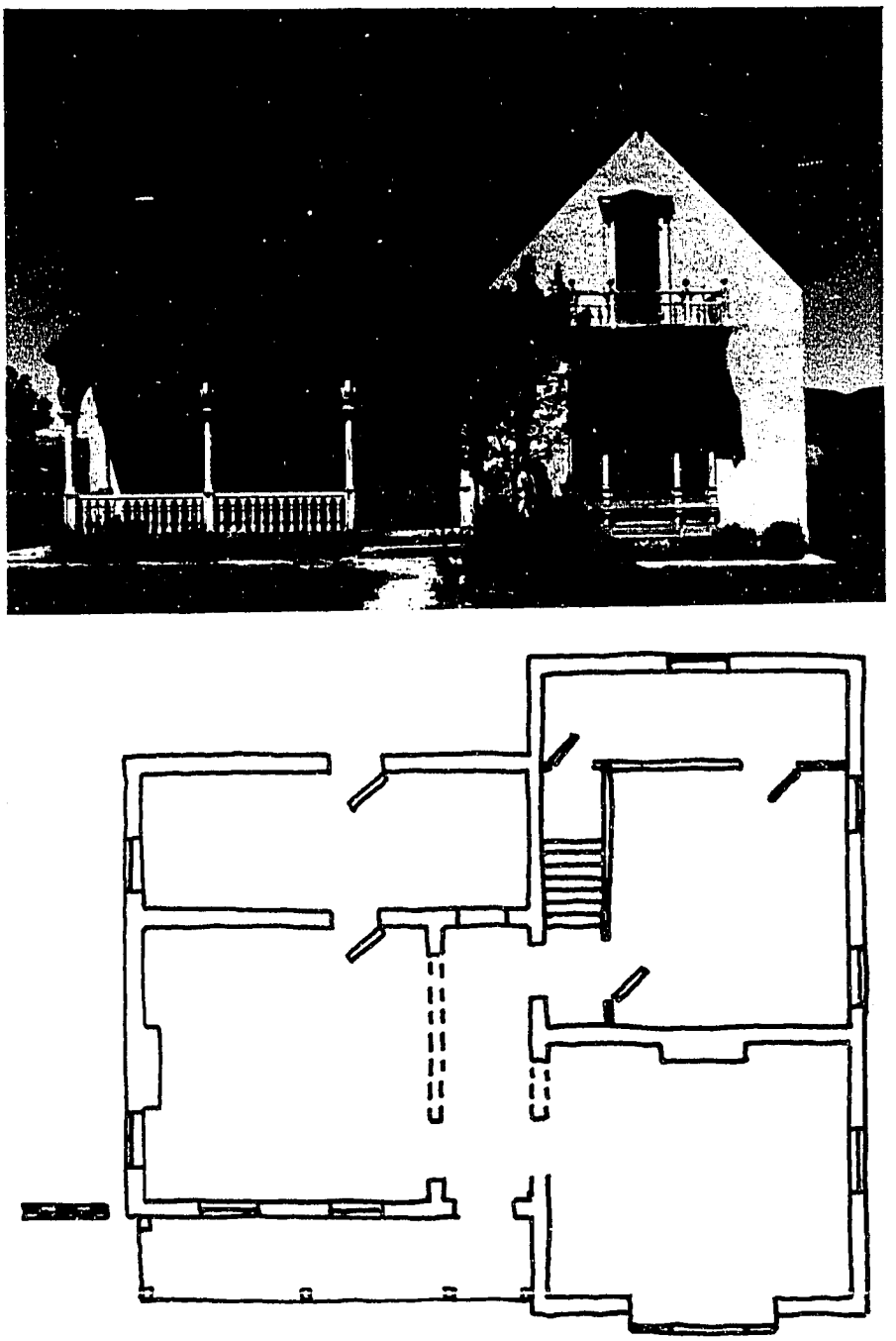


Figure 83: Type XVII. Kjar house, Manti, 5-20/SP-13-278. 1 1/2 story plastered central passageway cross wing house, c.1885-1890 (8/4/82).

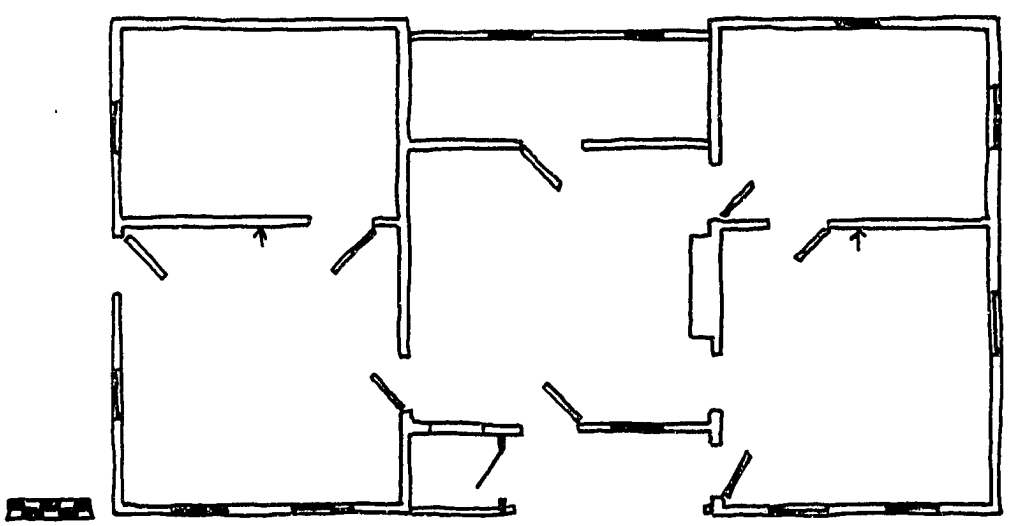


Figure 84: Type XVIII. Alexander Tennant house, Manti, 5-37/SP-13-502. 1 story frame double cross wing house, c.1884 (5/12/79).

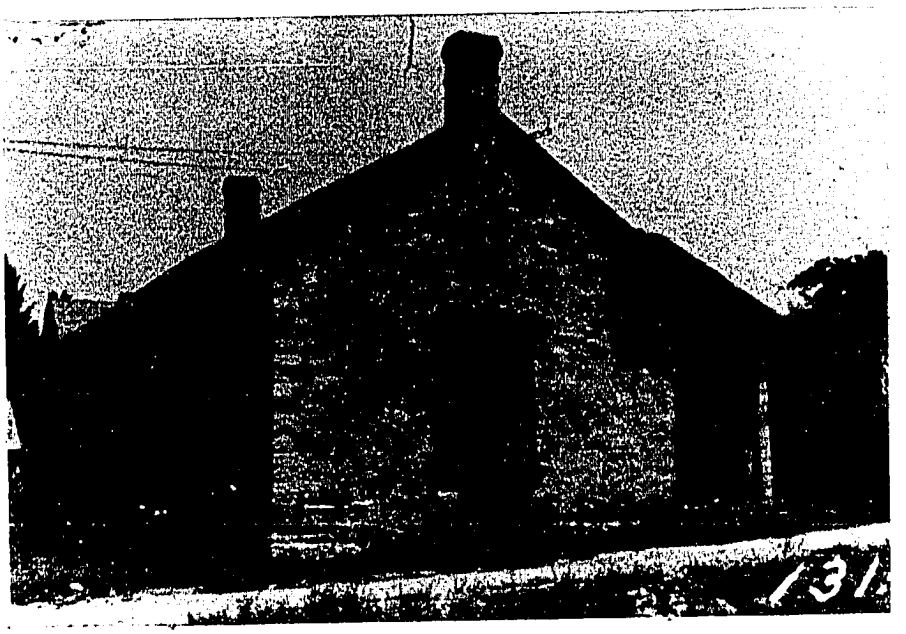
Double Parlor houses [XY^1Y^2] Types XIX,XX.

There are two houses in the valley that belong to a three unit house type rarely found in the United States. This house essentially consists of a hall-parlor structure with an extra room added to one end.[26] These houses are necessarily long, about 40 to 42 feet, and are 18-20 feet deep. They have an easily recognizable asymmetrical four bay facade arrangment. One is a single story while the other is a full two storys.

Such three unit houses were a typical post-Medieval cottage type in the British Isles and examples have been recorded in England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland.[27] In Britain the units traditionally functioned as a hall, a parlor, and a service area. The house was carried to Virginia and appears to have been built only in the seventeenth century, as the moving of service functions to a rear wing or a detached unit led to the general adoption of the two room hall-parlor type by the eighteenth century.[28] The house has not been found in other regions of country and its presence in the Sanpete Valley is a distinctve feature of the architectural landscape.

One house (figure 85) was built by William Luke, an immigrant from Manchester, England. It could be that Luke knew the form in his home country and found it useful for his needs in Manti. The George Bradley house (figure 86) is more problematic for Bradley was from New York State and would not have been familiar as such with the house form. It is possible that he saw British Saints building such houses at Nauvoo or in Utah or he might have hired Welsh carpenters from nearby Wales to assist him in planning and building the house. The extra rooms were suited to Bradley's position as presiding bishop of the town and evidence suggests

that the small rear room was used as his office.



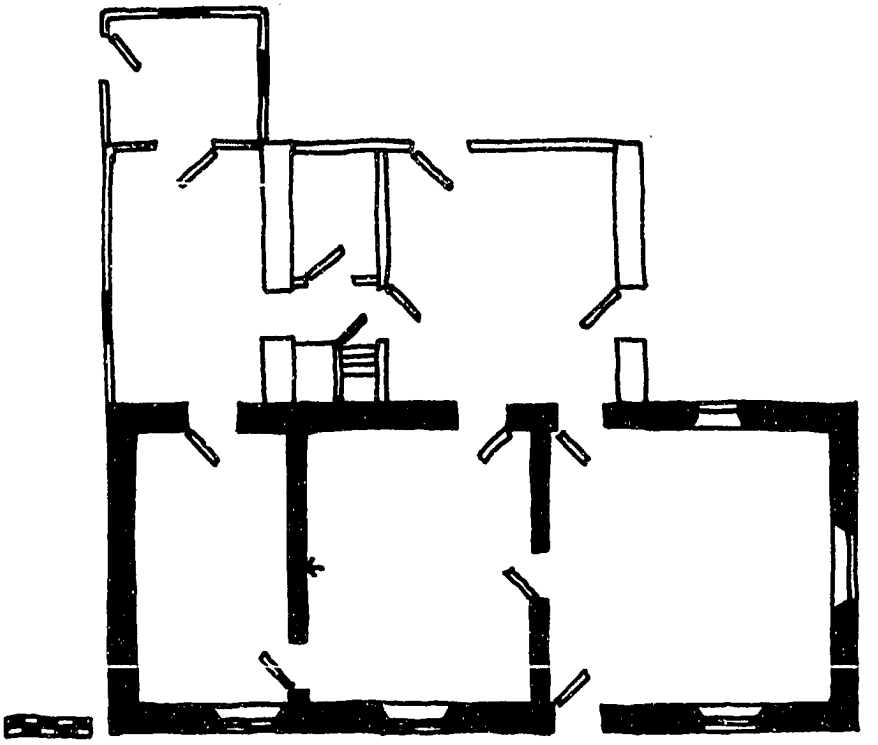
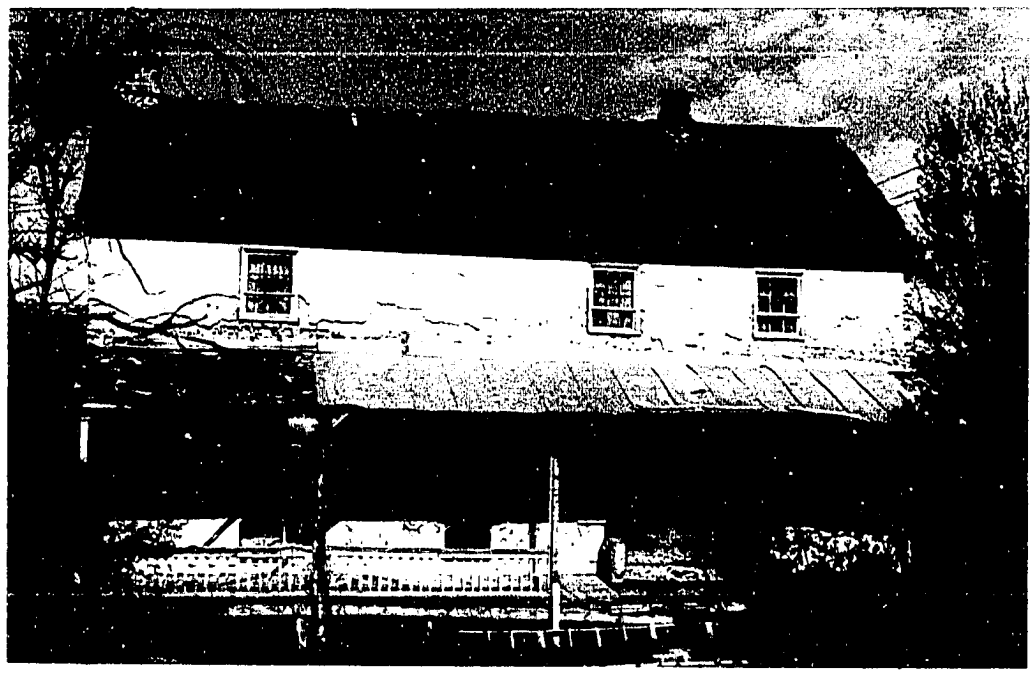


Figure 85: Type XIX. William Luke House, Manti 5-23/SP-13-247. 1 story stone XY^1Y^2 house with original stone and frame ell, c.1870, photo c.1930 (8/31/79)



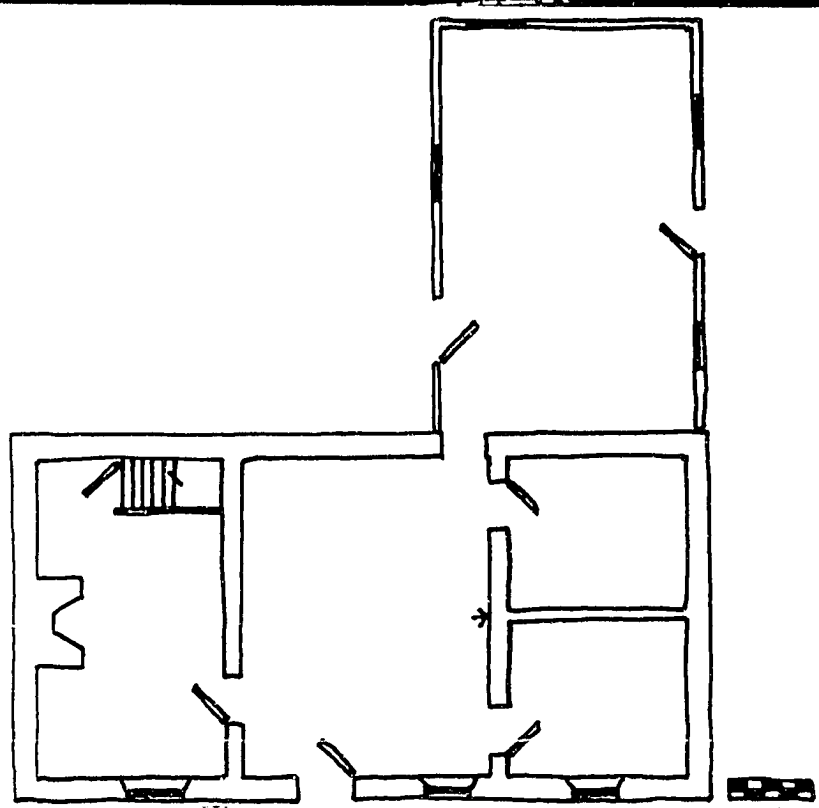


Figure 86: Type XX. George Bradley house, Moroni, 6-4/SP-15-20. 2 story plastered adobe XY1Y2 house, c.1860, demolished 1982. There is a late nineteenth century frame ell. The small side rooms were used as an office and a bedroom (5/16/79).

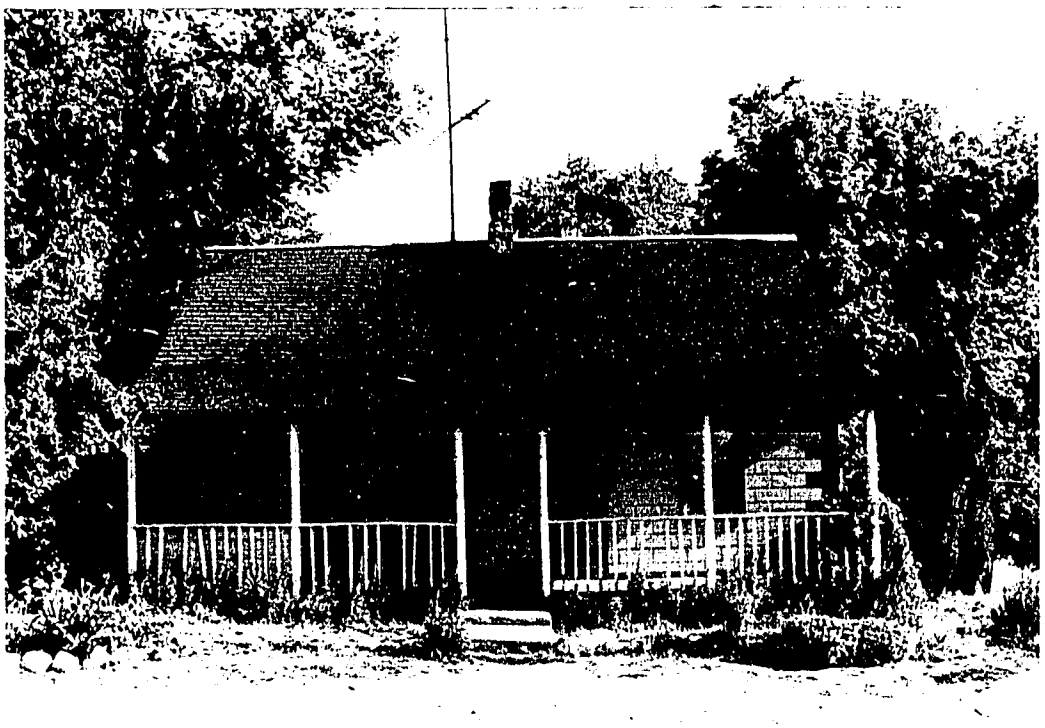
Double-Cell houses [XX] Types XXI,XXII,XXIII,XXIV,XV.

The two unit houses discussed to this point have all been composed of unequally sized rooms. There is one two room house type in the valley, however, that has a symmetrical internal plan and this is the double cell house. These houses have two axially oriented square rooms and are about the same size as the hall-parlor types, ranging from about 30 to 36 feet in length and from 16 to 18 feet deep. The double cell types are not prominent Sanpete Valley forms and only about three percent of the surveyed houses fall into this category.

If the double cell house form allowed the inside rooms to be the same size, it also created design problems on the exterior. Since the main door could not be placed centrally due to the presence of the internal partition, it had to be pushed to one side and then balanced by another door (figure 87), or, less satisfactorily from the standpoint of symmetry, a window (figure 91). House designers appear to have viewed each side of the house as a discrete unit to be treated separately; that is, each side of the house is pierced symmetrically though the whole itself may be asymmetrical (see figures 89, 90, and 93).

Because of its inherent duality, the double cell house has often been seen as a functional response to Mormon polygamy.[29] Its plan was in fact well suited for housing two families (figure 88), yet the form is found in other areas of the United States, Scandinavia, and Utah as a single family dwelling and it must read as part of the larger folk builders'repertoire.[30] One house (figures 94 and 95) appears to be a double pile variant of the double cell house but one side has been left unpartitioned, creating a single room. The plan is reminiscent of

European models, but precise affinities cannot at this point be determined.[31]



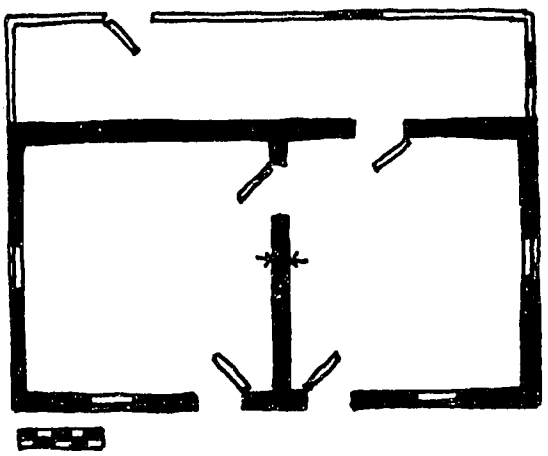


Figure 87: Type XXI. House, Manti, 5-10/SP-13-806. 1 story plastered adobe XX house with original lean-to extension, c.1875 (5/18/79).

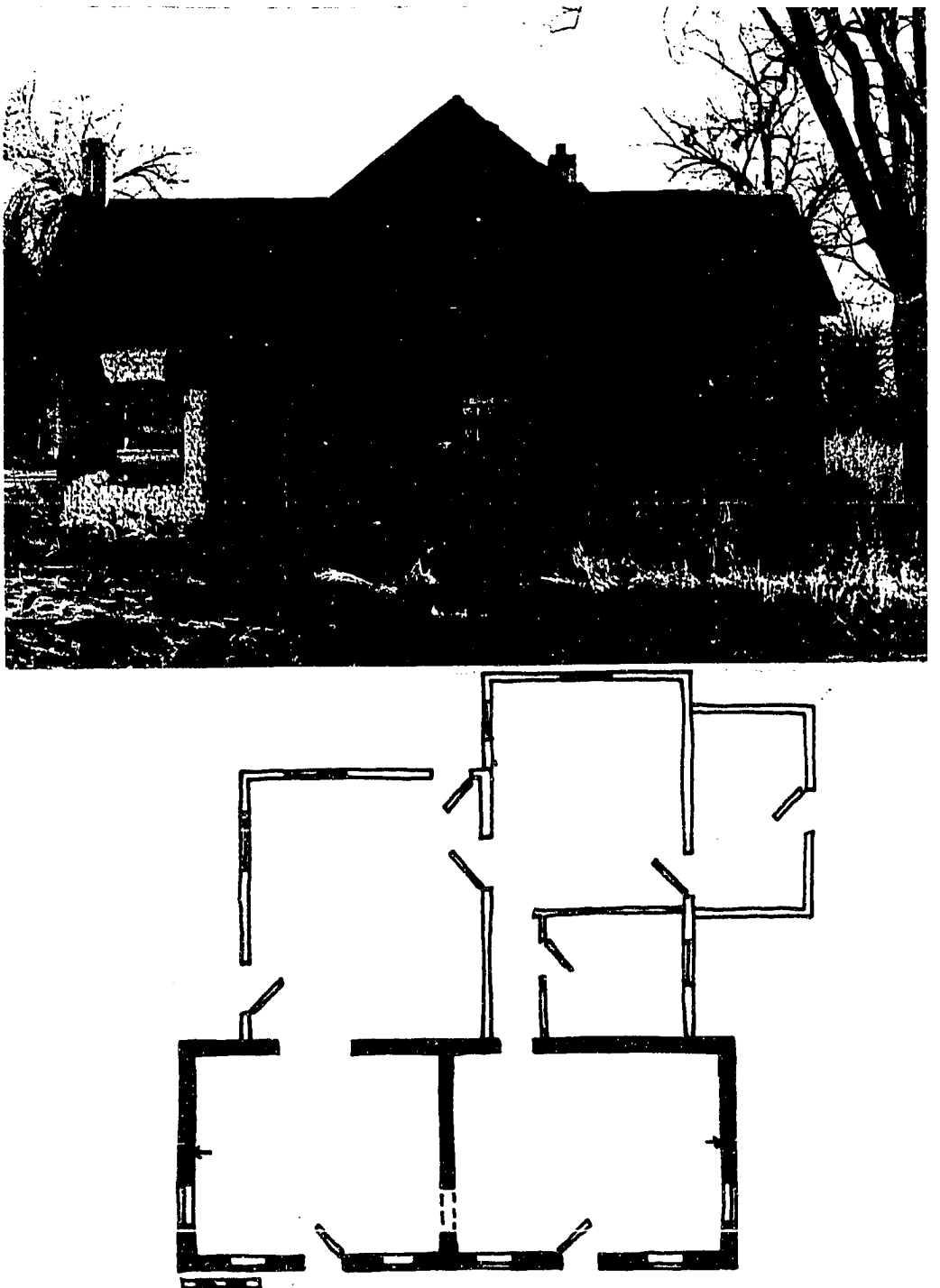
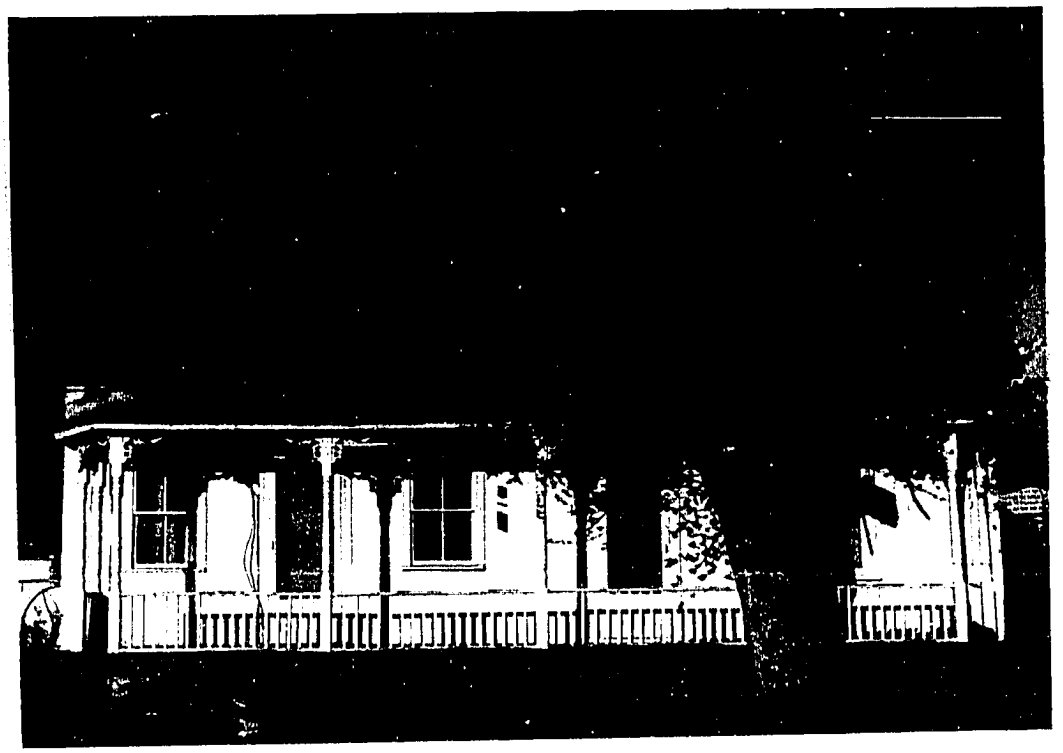


Figure 88: Rasmus Andersen house, Spring City, 8-14/SP-17-65. 1 story plastered adobe ZZ house, c.1875. There are numerous twentieth century additions on the rear. The house was originally divided into separate apartments for two wives (5/10/79).



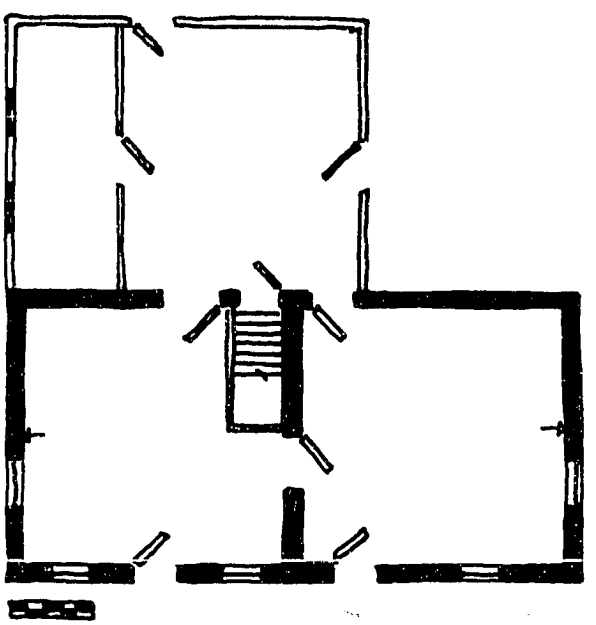
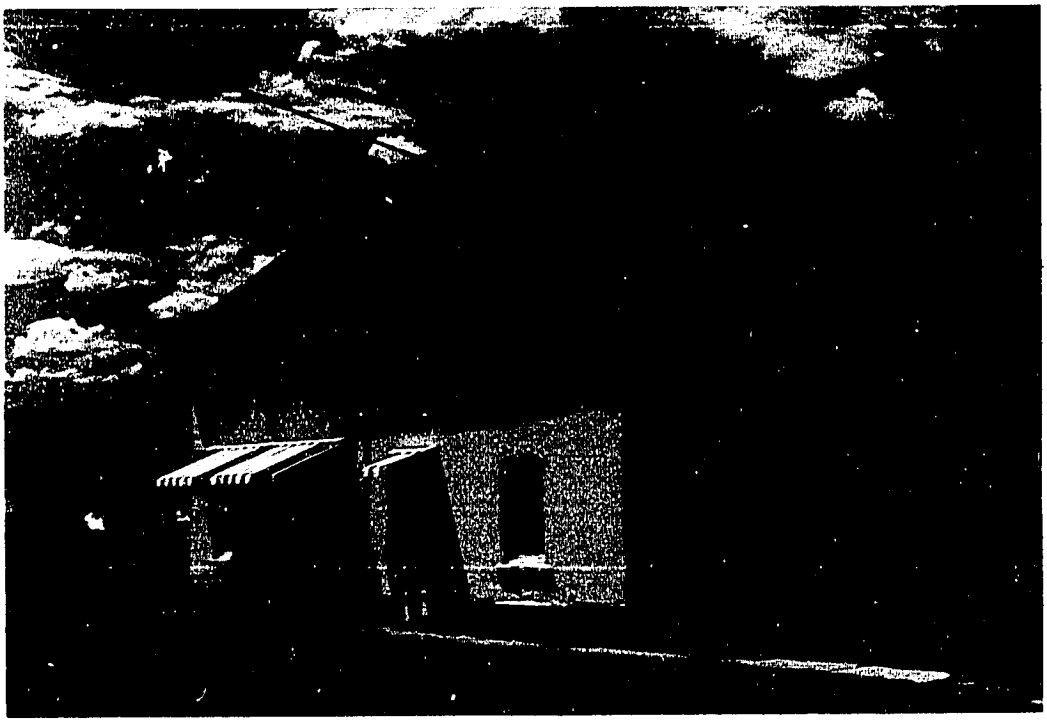


Figure 89: Type XXII. Severine Jensen house, Spring City, 8-41/SP-17-199. 1 1/2 story plastered adobe XX house, c.1880. There is a twentieth century addition to the rear (6/78).



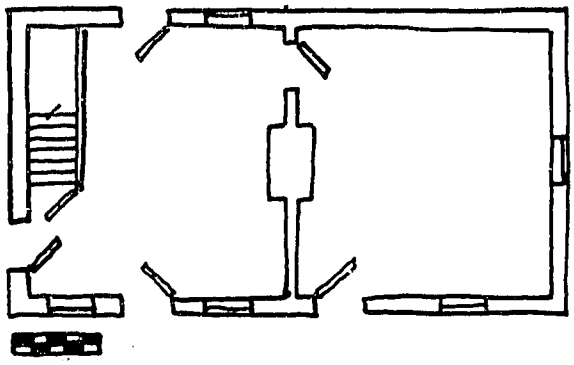


Figure 90: Type XXII. Thomas Morgan house, Fountain Green, 4-4/SP-09-36. 1 1/2 story plastered brick XX house, 1874. A recent rear addition is not included in the plan (5/11/79).

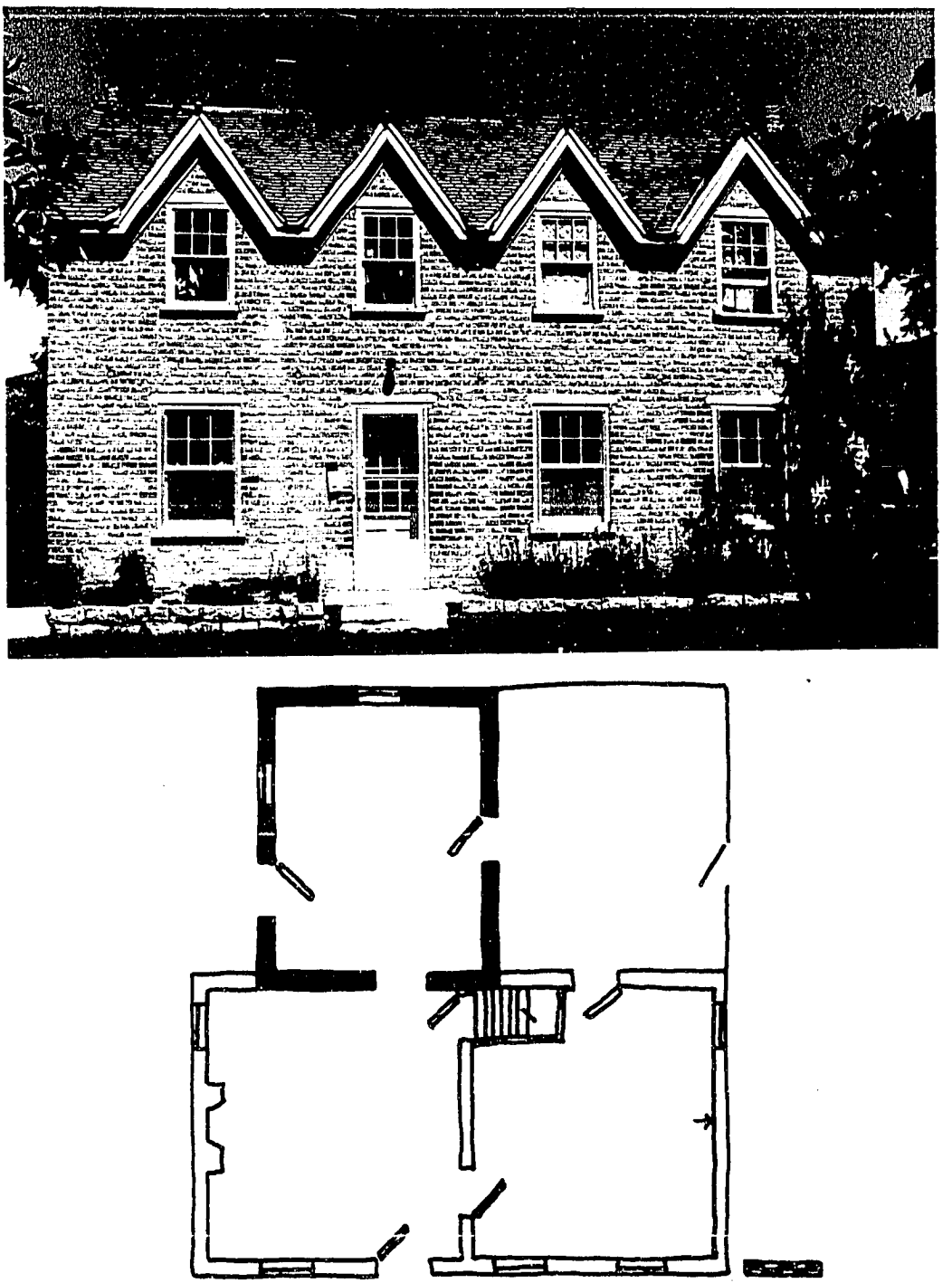


Figure 91: Type XXII. Francis Marion Jolley house, Manti, 5-14/SP-13-195. 1 1/2 story brick XX house, c.1875. The original structure was an adobe X house, c.1860 (4/3/79).

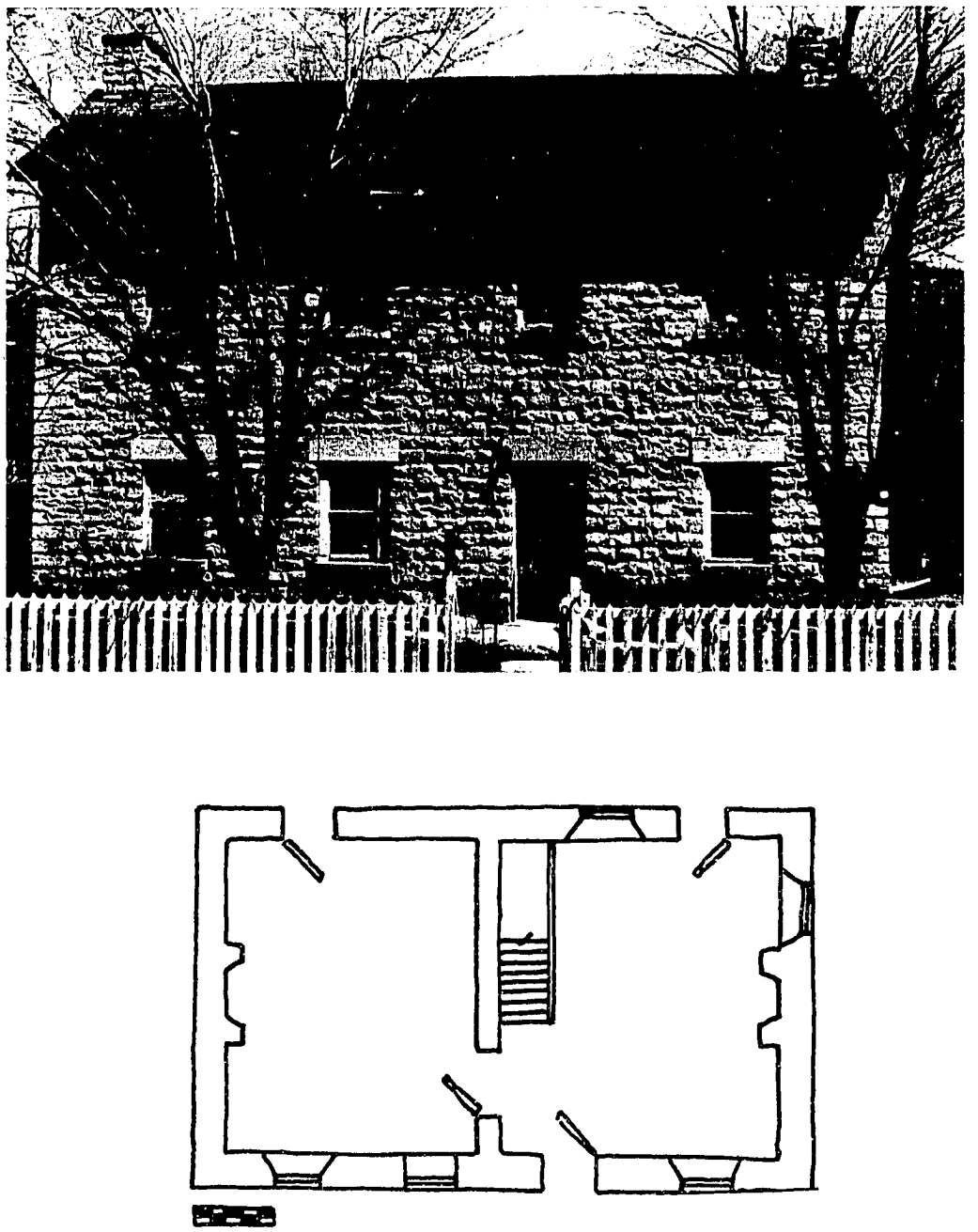
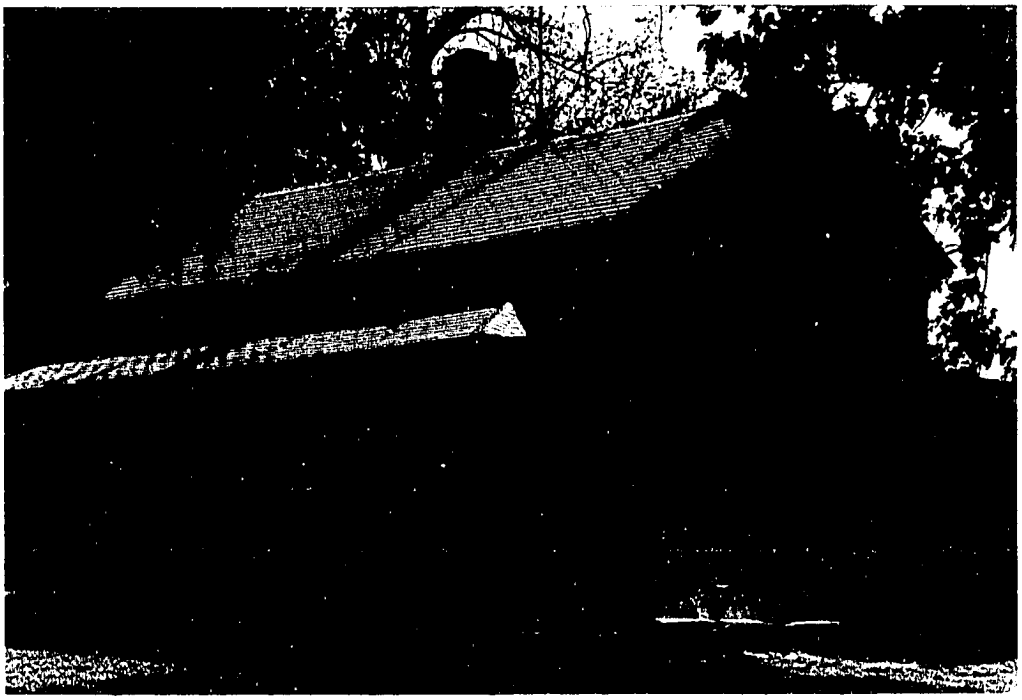


Figure 92: Type XXIII. Daniel Henry House, Manti, 5-30/SP-13-416. 2 story stone XX house, c.1855-1860. The house originally had a symmetrical facade with two centrally located front doors (4/6/79).



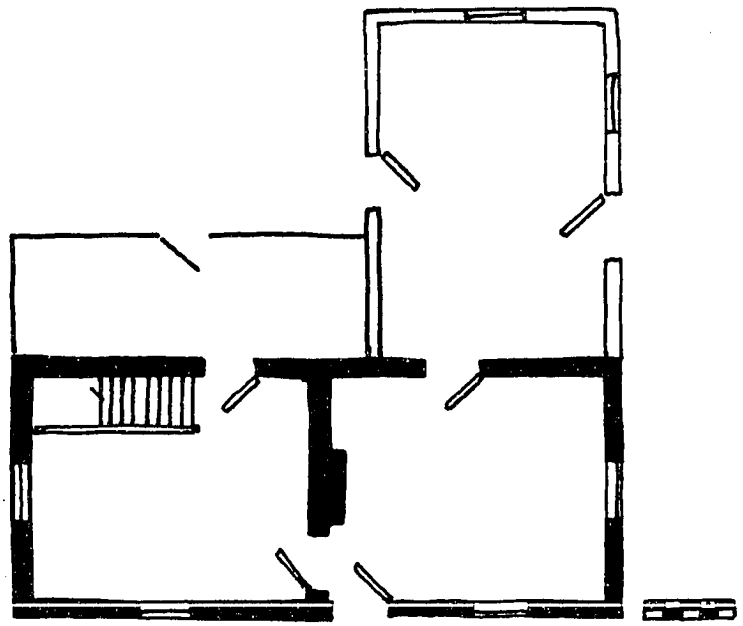


Figure 93: Type XXIV. Lauritz Larsen house, Spring City, 8-11/SP-17-38. 1 1/2 story plastered adobe XX house with asymmetrical facade, c.1875 (8/4/78).

Figure 94: Type XXV. Lauritz Jensen house, Spring City, 8-6/SP-17-291. 1 story plastered adobe double pile XX house, c.1865. There are several early twentieth century additions on the rear. With its one long open side, this house is unique in the Sanpete Valley.

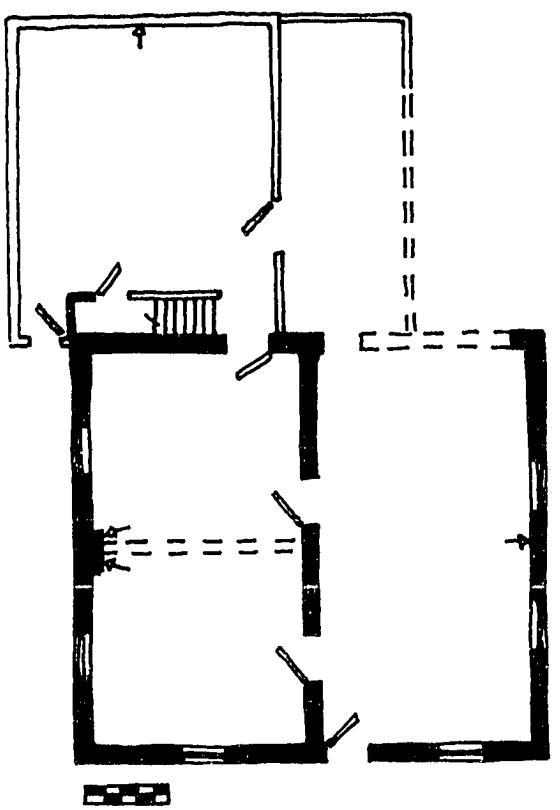


Figure 95: Floorplan of the Jensen house, Spring City (6/2/78).

Extended Hall-Parlor Houses [XZ] Types XXVI,XXVII,XXVIII.

There is one group of houses in the valley that has no clear traditional antecedent and appears to be the unique product of local design. These "extended hall-parlor" houses are large, measuring between 36 to 40 feet in length and between 18 and 19 feet in depth, and consist of a square room (X) flanked by a larger rectanglular unit (Z). There are at least 18 of these houses totaling about three percent of the total survey. From the outside they resemble in scale and massing the central passage types and without close inspection the two house forms may be easily confused.

The extended hall-parlor house is new but not unexplainable for it could be generated within the folk building competence by simply creating a new geometric XZ string. The question remains, however, why this was done. The answer, it seems, lies in the nature of Mormon town life itself. The central passage has been shown to function as an architectural neutral zone, a space within the house that is not lived in and through which outsiders must pass to reach the inhabited rooms of the house.[32] In this capacity, the passage serves to separate private from public space and to insulate the individual family from the surrounding community. The architectural evidence in the valley overwhemingly suggests that such protection was not considered necessary. Ninety-five percent of the surveyed houses here may be entered directly from the street and particular houses, like the temple form and pair house which traditionally had some kind of entrance hall, are found without them.[33] The perceived safety of the nucleated town structure and the unity of purpose among the Saints precluded the need

for rigid divisions between individual and community life.[34] One manifestation of this cultural openness was the creation of a large, prestigious house form without a central passageway.

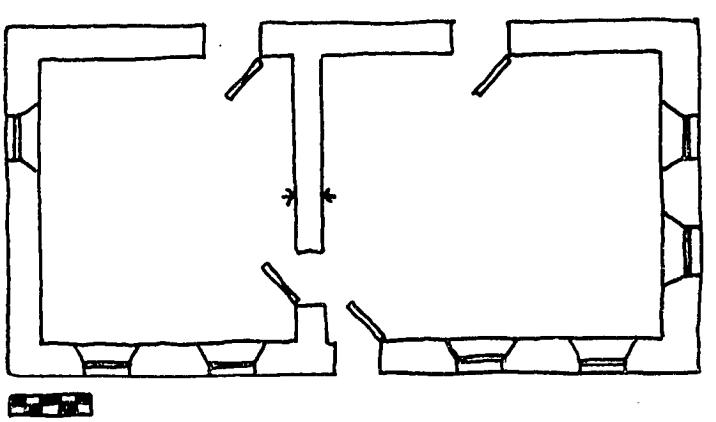


Figure 96: Type XXVI. Peter Olsen Kjargaard house, Ephraim, 2-41/SP-06-371. 1 story stone XZ house, c.1860 (5/17/79).

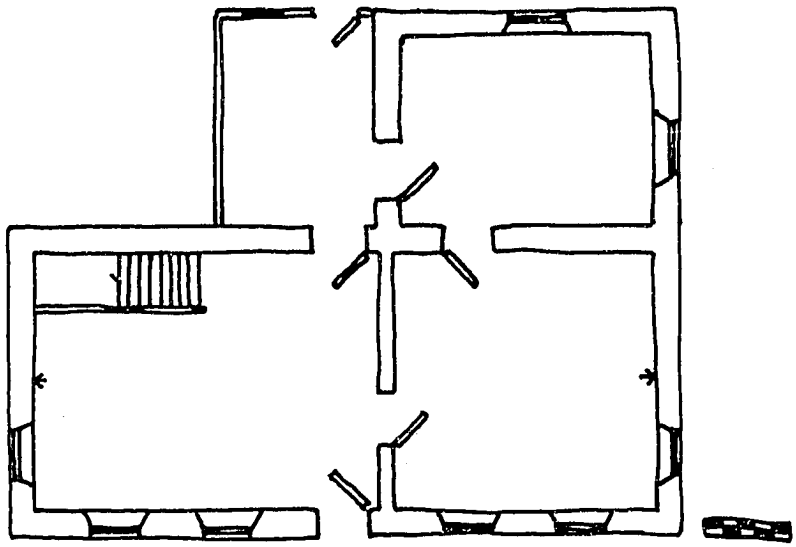


Figure 97: Type XXVII. Peter Rasmussen house, Spring City, 8-45/SP-19-209. 1 1/2 story stone XZ house, c.1870. The stair case location is not original (10/26/78).

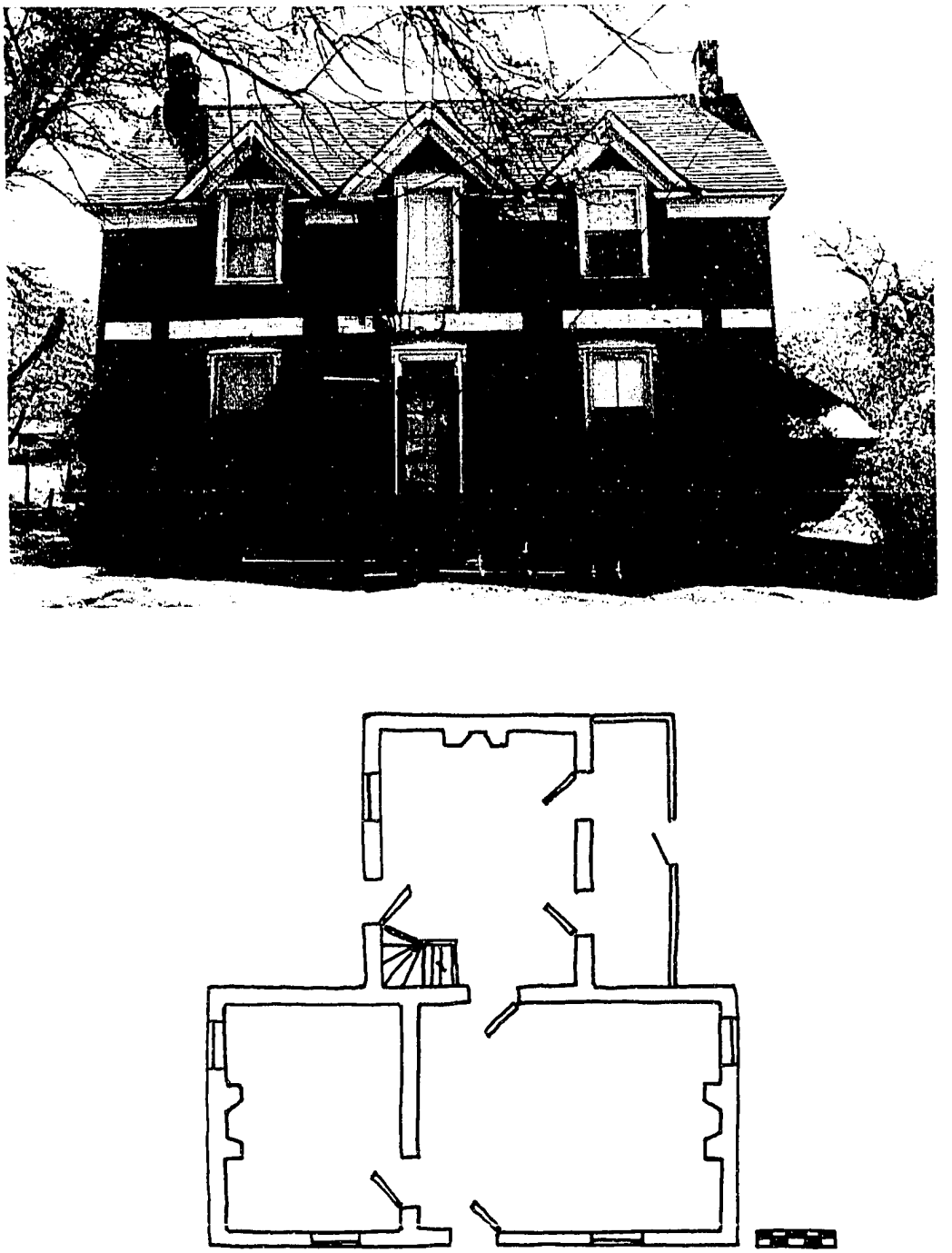


Figure 97: Type XVII. John Llewelyn house, Wales, 10-3/SP-19-22. 1 1/2 story brick XZ house with original brick ell, c.1870 (7/21/79).

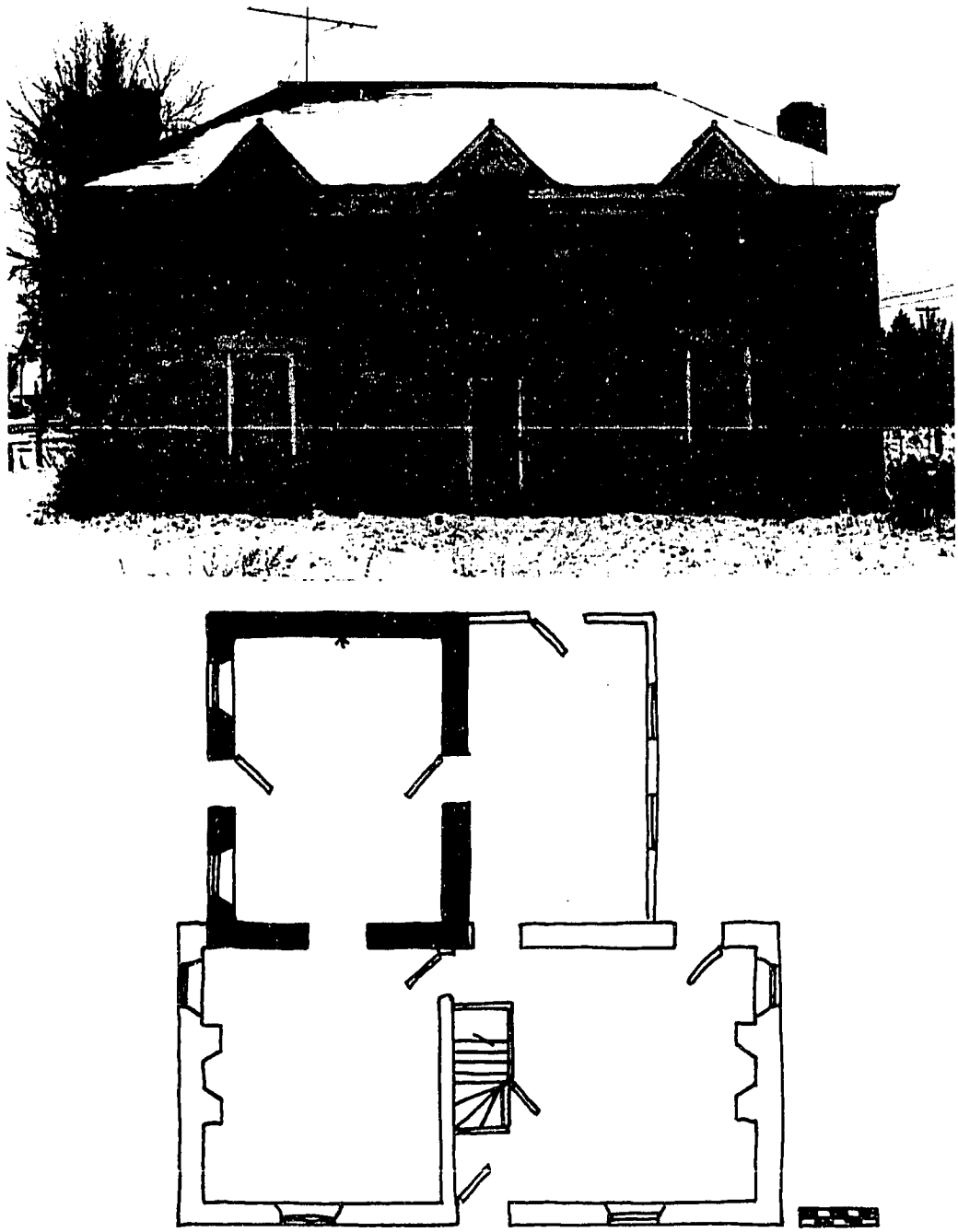


Figure 99: Type XXVII. James Cook house, Manti, 5-56/SP-13-610. 1 1/2 story stone XZ house c.1865. The rear stone X unit is the original house (2/22/79).

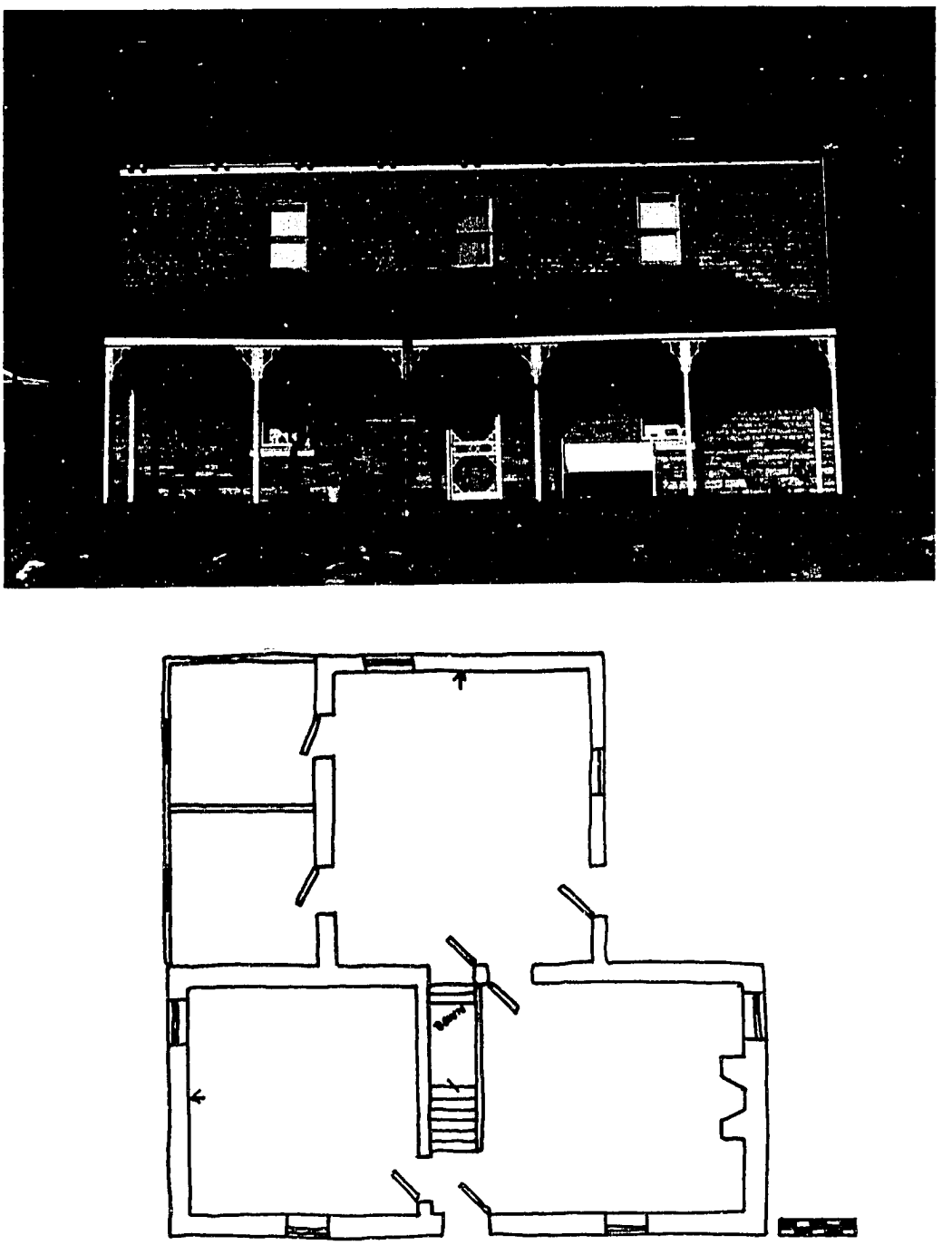


Figure 100: Type XVIII. Jabez Faux home, Moroni, 6-10/SP-15-227. 2 story brick XZ house, c.1865 (3/10/79).

Central Passageway Houses [XY^3X]

Types XXIX,XXX,XXXI,XXXII,XXXIII,XXXIV.

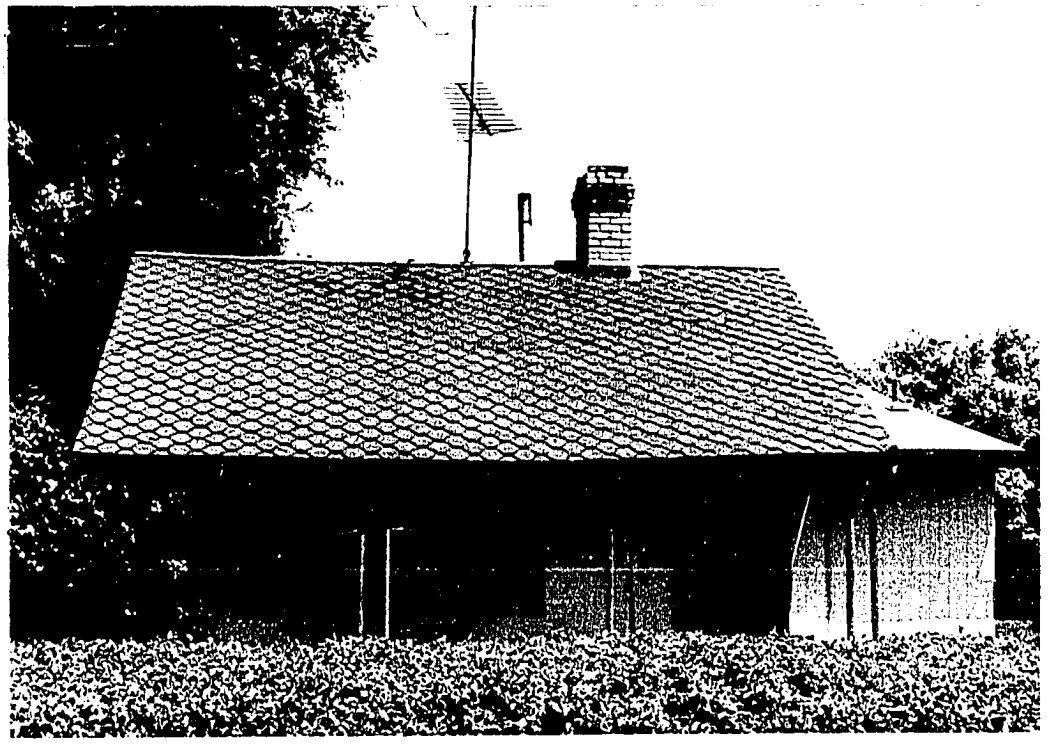
Renaissance architectural ideas solidified in seventeenth century England around the form of a large double pile, central passageway house--the Georgian house.[35] This house profoundly affected American folk building in the late eighteenth century, becoming the architectural standard in both the New England and Mid-Atlantic states.[36] In the South, the single pile house was retained but invariably contained a Georgian-inspired central passage.[37] In its two story form, the single pile central passage house--the I house--became a ubiquitous nineteenth century symbol of economic success throughout the country and must be considered the archetypal Midwestern farmhouse of the period.[38] Considering its widespread popularity during the 1800s, the central passageway I house is conspicuous in Utah primarily by its absence, for here the open hall house types continued to be the most commonly constructed dwellings.[39] In the Sanpete Valley, only slightly over five percent of the extant houses contain a central passageway.

While there are several smaller central passageway houses in the valley (figures 101 and 113), the house, at least in the early years of settlement, seems mainly to have been the favorite of the local elite--men of wealth and status in the LDS Church (see figures 110, 111-112, 115, and 117). Many of these large houses were double pile types, though none had the through passage associated with the Georgian prototype. Instead, the houses have a row of three smaller rooms across the back of the house and in this respect resemble older, pre-Georgian

New England double pile forms.[40]

During the 1880s, the central passageway house began to surface in greater numbers in the valley, often with Victorian influenced stylistic features (figure 105). It was also at this time that several of the larger hall-parlor houses in the valley were remodeled into central passage houses by the addition of a partition in the hall (figures 107-108 and 109).[41]

An important subtype of the central passageway house also exists in the Sanpete Valley (see figures 101, 106, 116). This house consists essentially of "two-thirds" of the complete symmetrical geometric block. The builder simply subtracted one of the side components from the XY^3X form to get a smaller Y^3X house. Because the intended result of all house design was conceptualized as a symmetrical whole, the missing component was supplied in the minds of those knew the architectural code.[42]



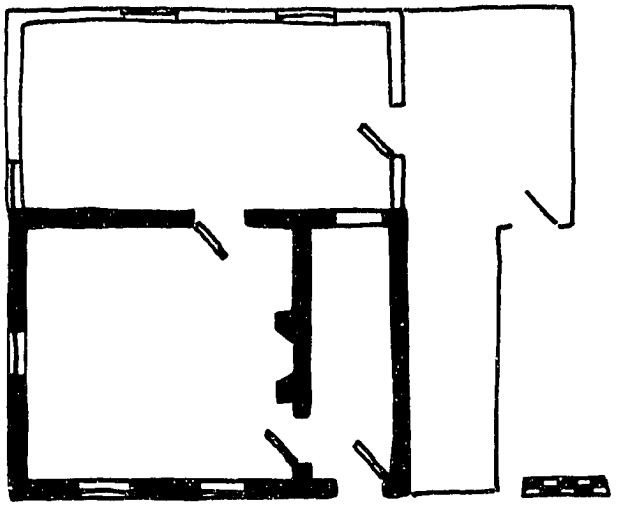
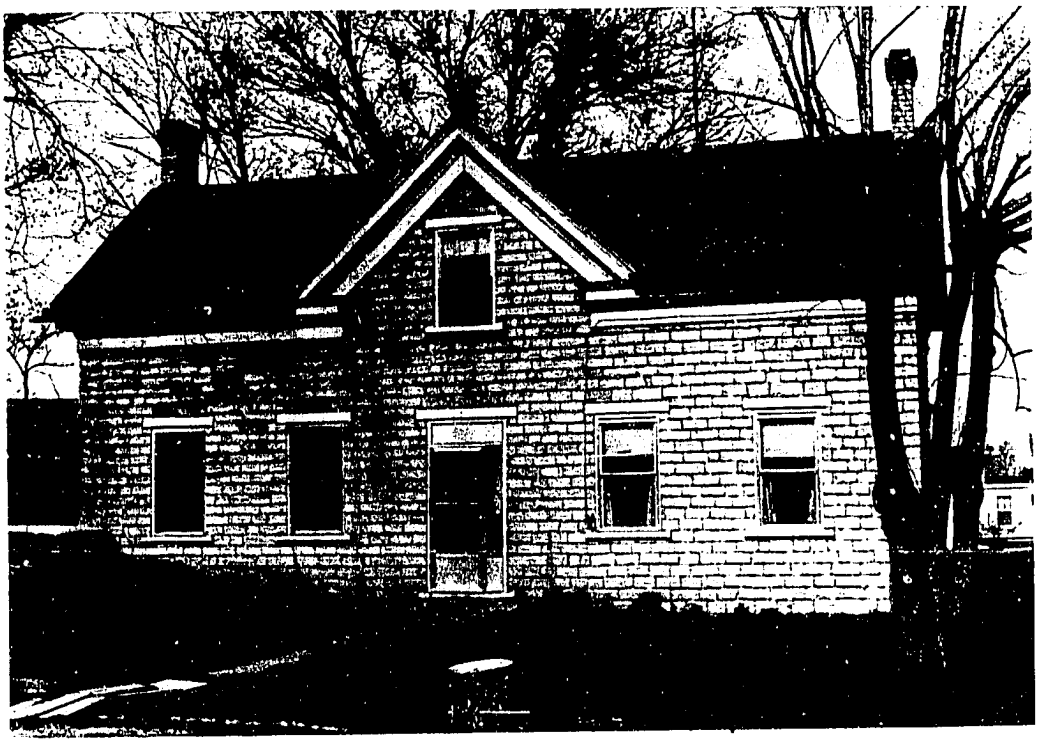


Figure 101: Type XXIX, two-thirds subtype. Aaron Lindberg house, Ephraim, 2-36/SP-06-324. 1 story asbestoes sided adobe XY^3X house, c.1865. There are several modern additions to the rear (6/79).



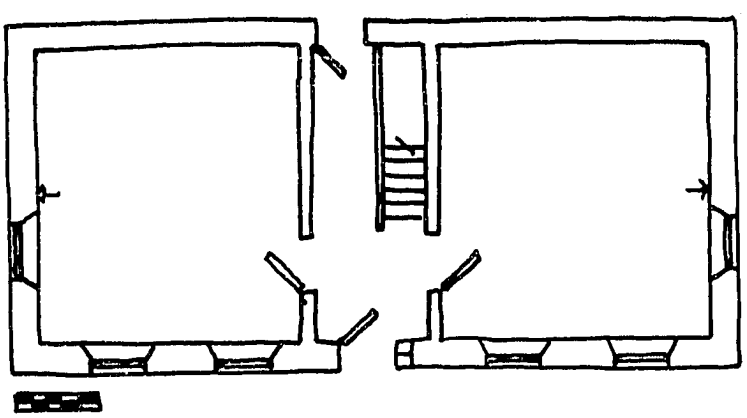


Figure 102: Type XXX. Peter Issacsen house, Ephraim, 2-45/SP-06-401. 1 1/2 story stone XY^3X house, c.1870. The house has been extensively remodeled and the plan presented here is a reconstruction of its nineteenth century appearance (4/23/79).

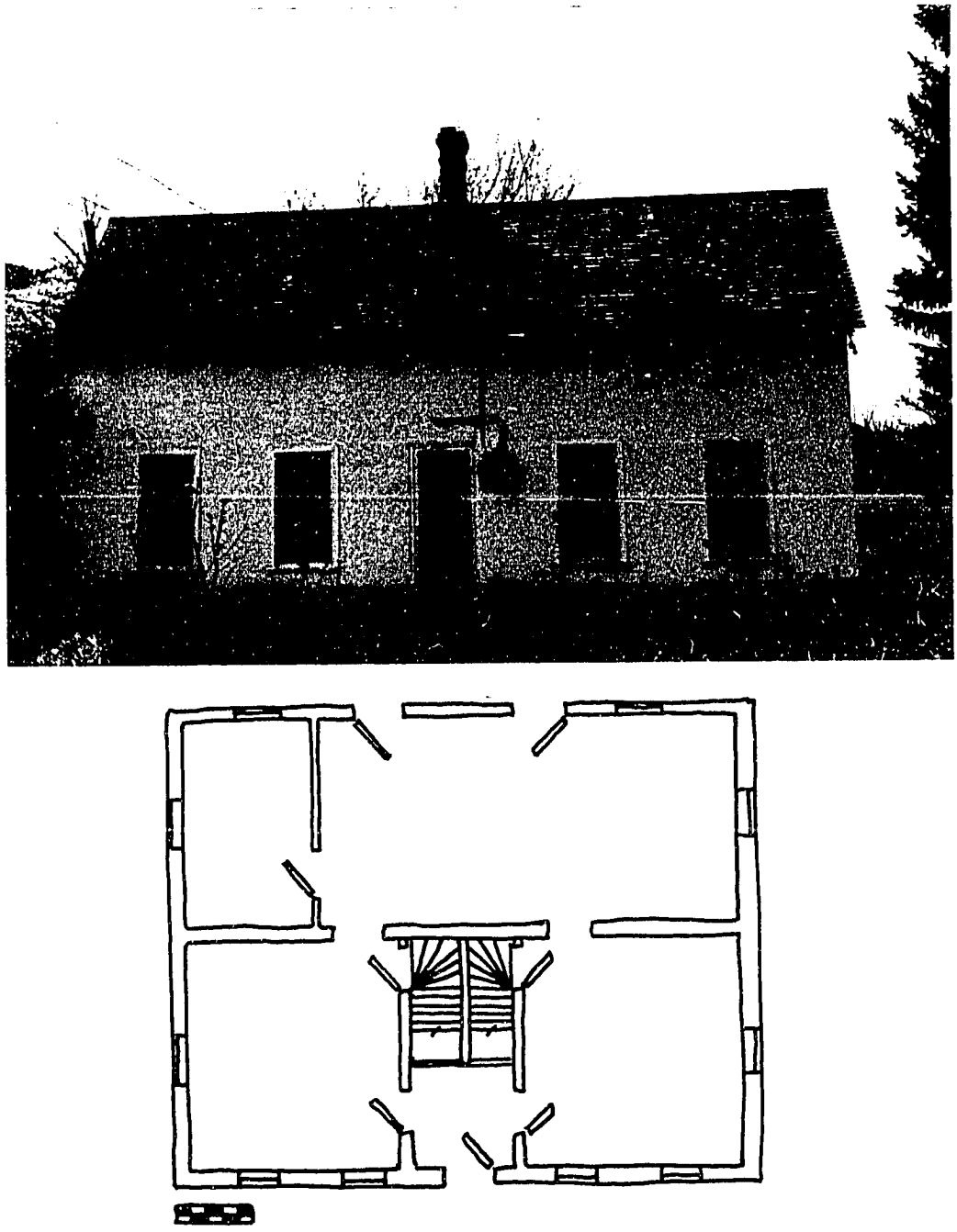


Figure 103: Type XXX. Andrew Petersen house, Manti, 5-11/SP-13-796. 1 1/2 story plastered adobe XY^3X house, c.1875. Petersen used this central passageway house to accomodate his two wives. Each wife had her own apartment and staircase, the back lean-to was used as a common kitchen (5/18/79).

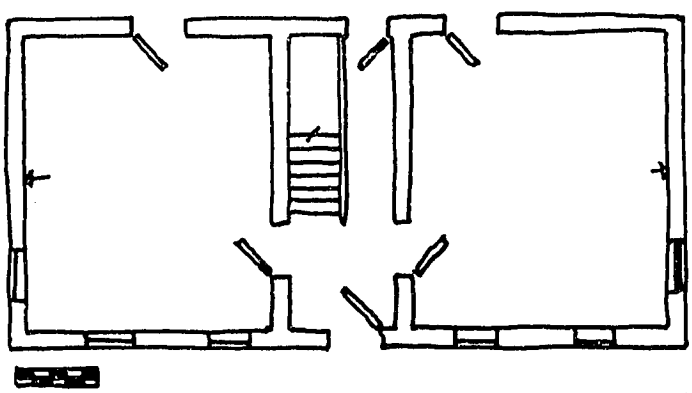


Figure 104: Type XXX. Peter Olsen house, Moroni, 6-2/SP-15-5. 1 1/2 story brick $\overline{XY^3X}$ house, c.1875. The house was extensively remodeled in the 1960s; the plan given here is a reconstruction of the house as it appeared in the nineteenth century (5/15/79).

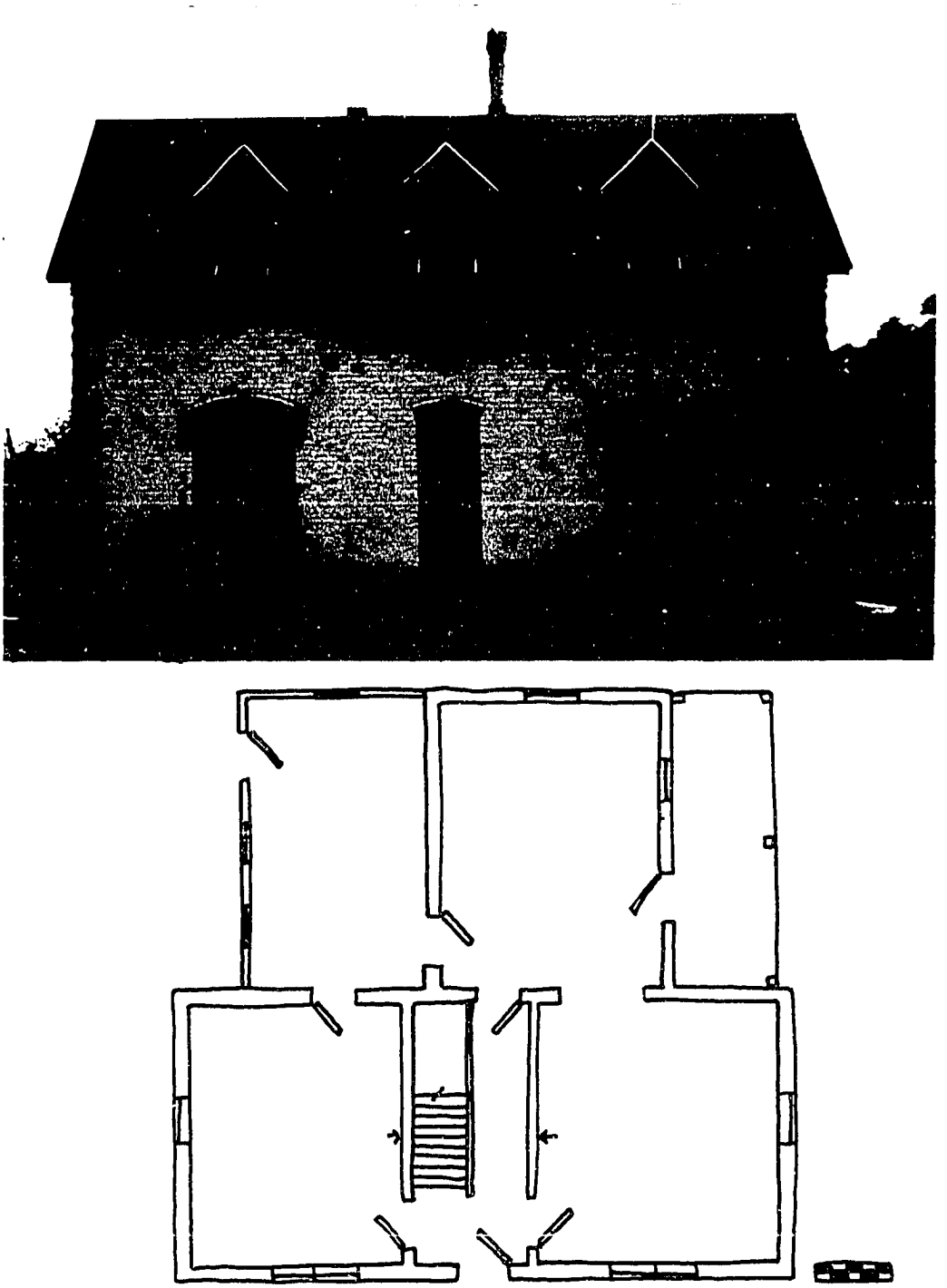


Figure 105: Type XXX. Hans Larsen Jr. house, Manti, 5-8/SP-13/81. 1 1/2 story brick $\overline{XY^3X}$ house with original brick ell, c.1885 (2/4/79).

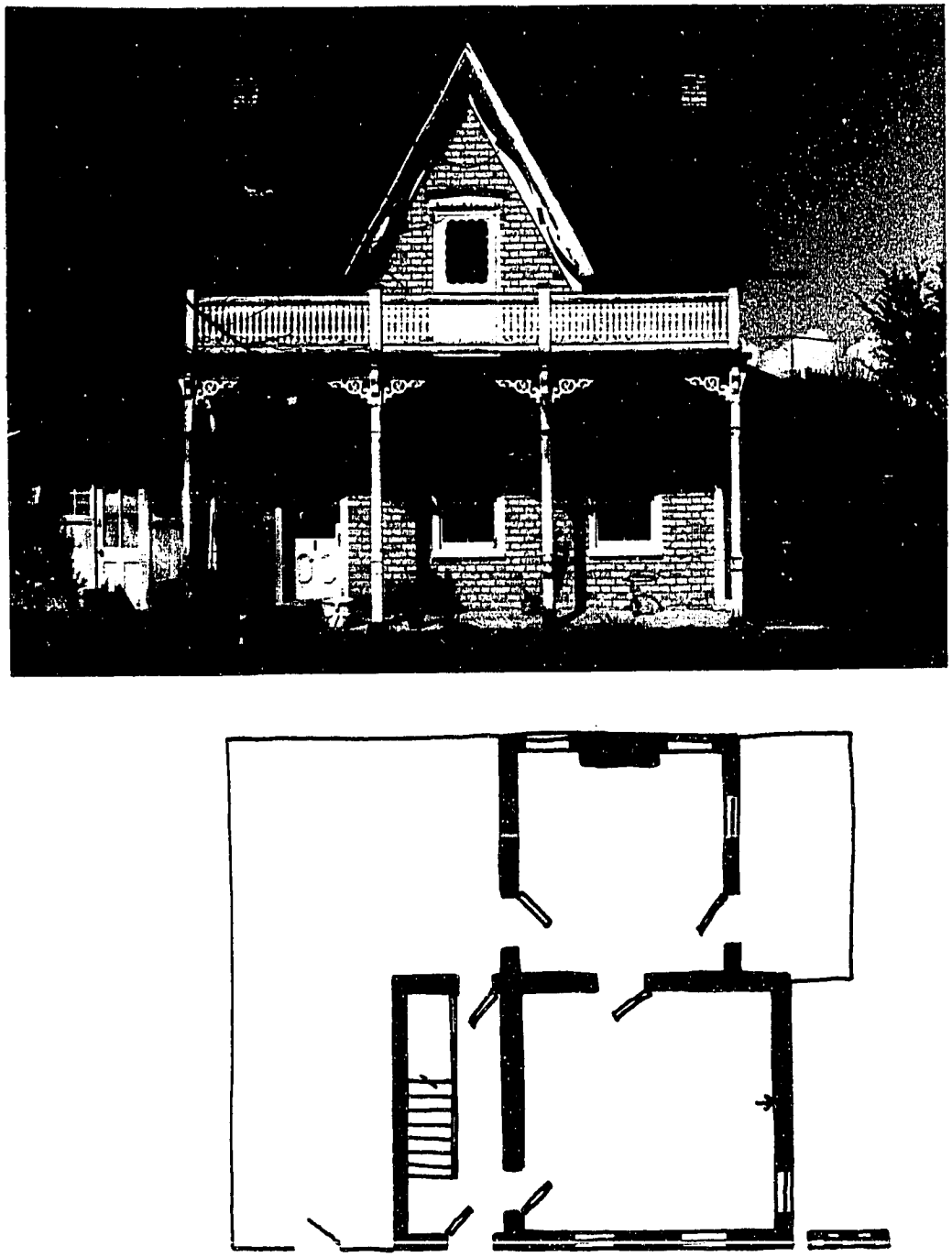


Figure 106: Type XXX, two-thirds subtype. Ole Arlison house, Mt. Pleasant, 7-5/SP-16/199. 1 1/2 story brick XY^3X house, c.1880. Side additions date from the early twentieth century (5/81).

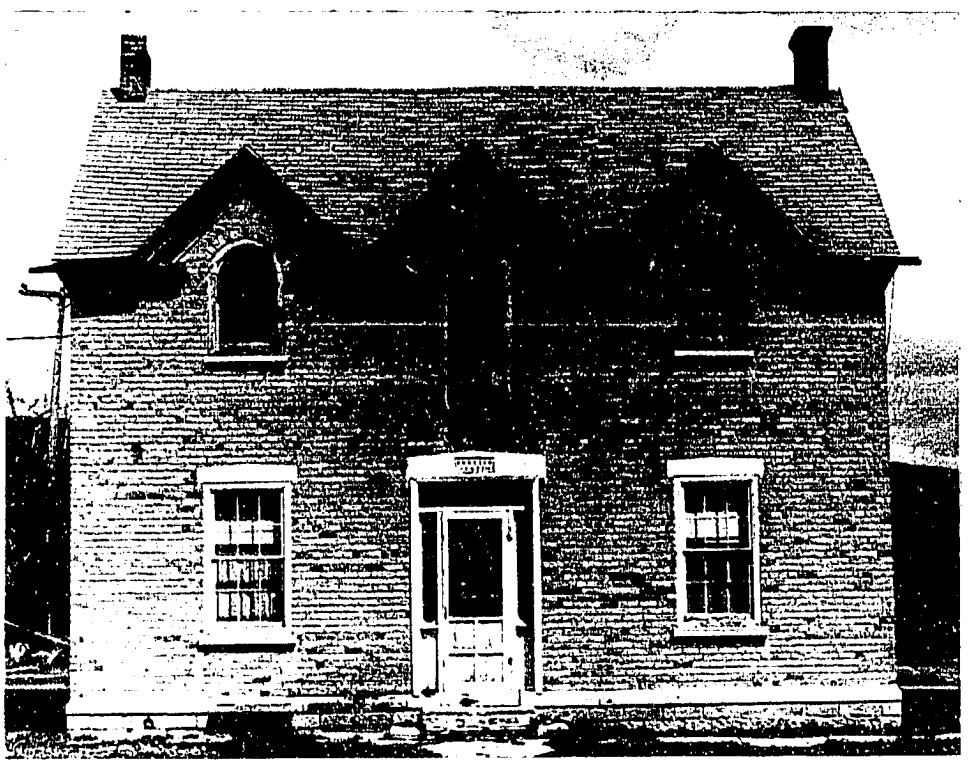


Figure 107: Type XXX. Hans Peter Olsen house, Fountain Green, 4-12/SP-09/204. 1 1/2 story brick XY^1 house with original ell, c.1875.

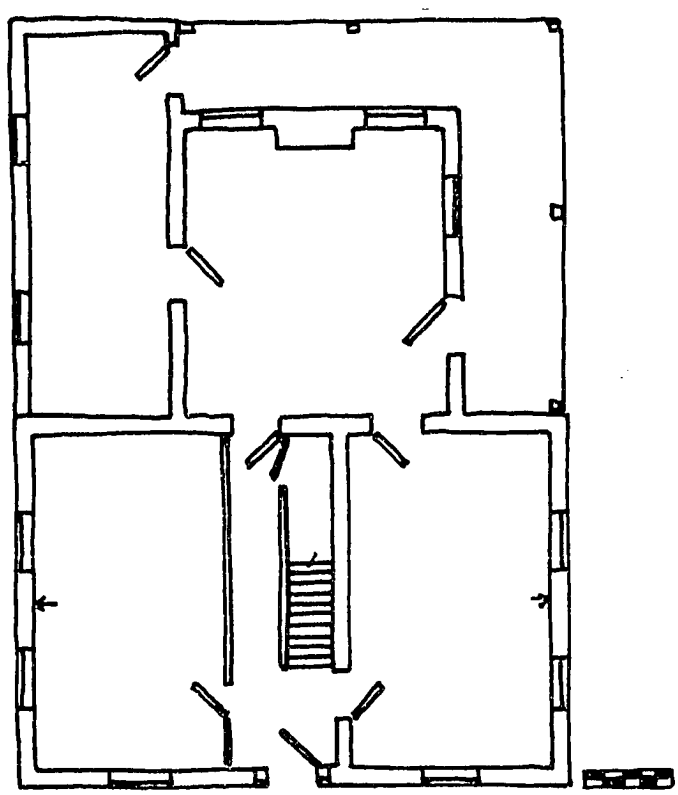
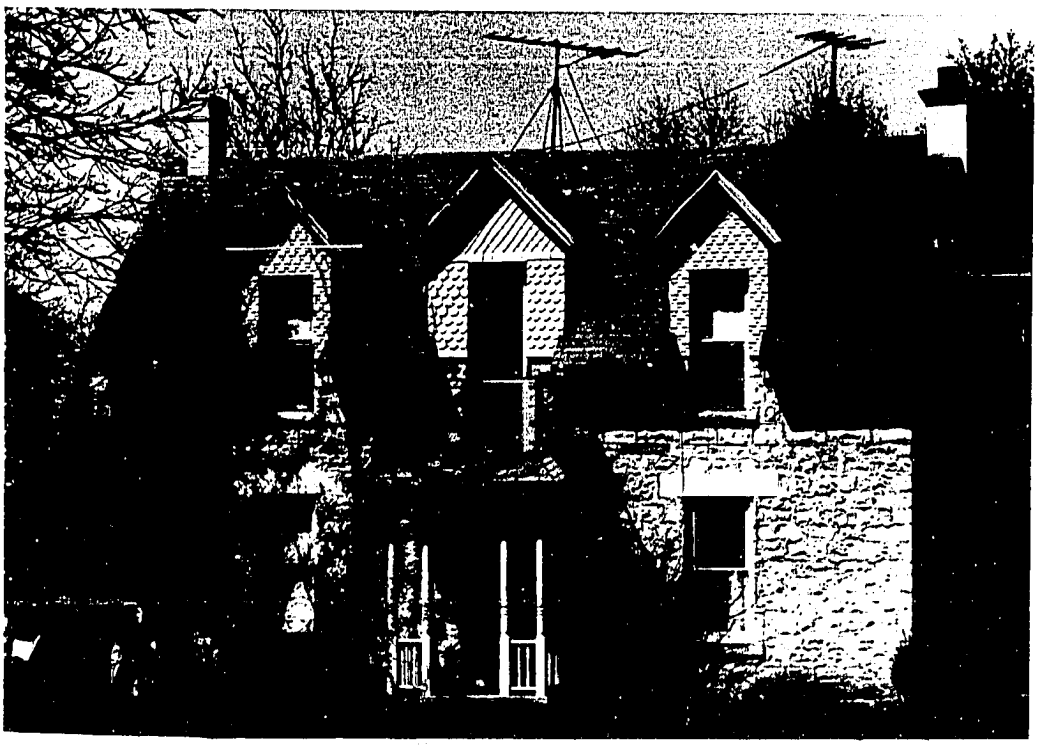


Figure 108: Floorplan of the Olsen house, Fountain Green. The Olsen house was remodeled in the late nineteenth century into a XY^3X house with the insertation of a passageway (5/11/79).



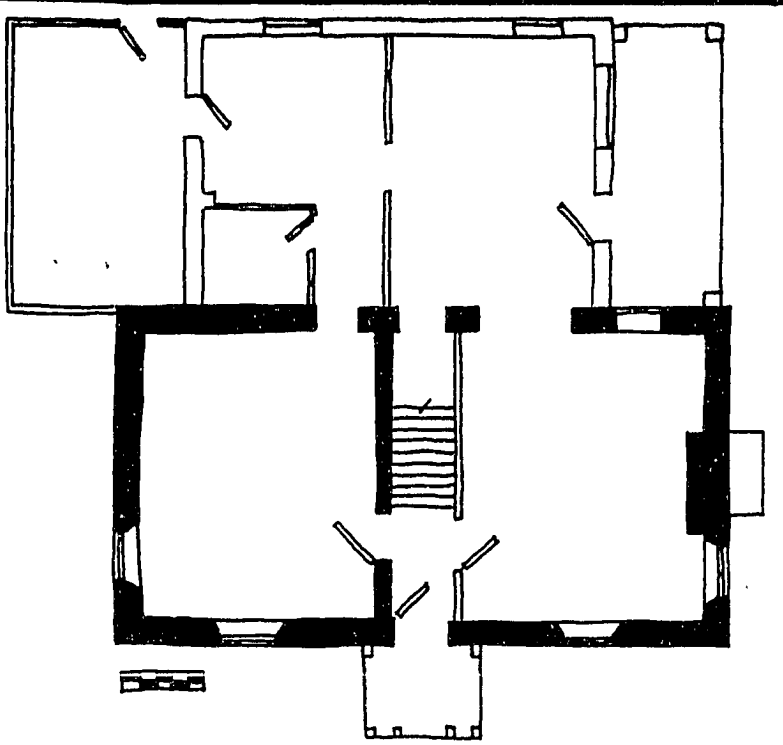
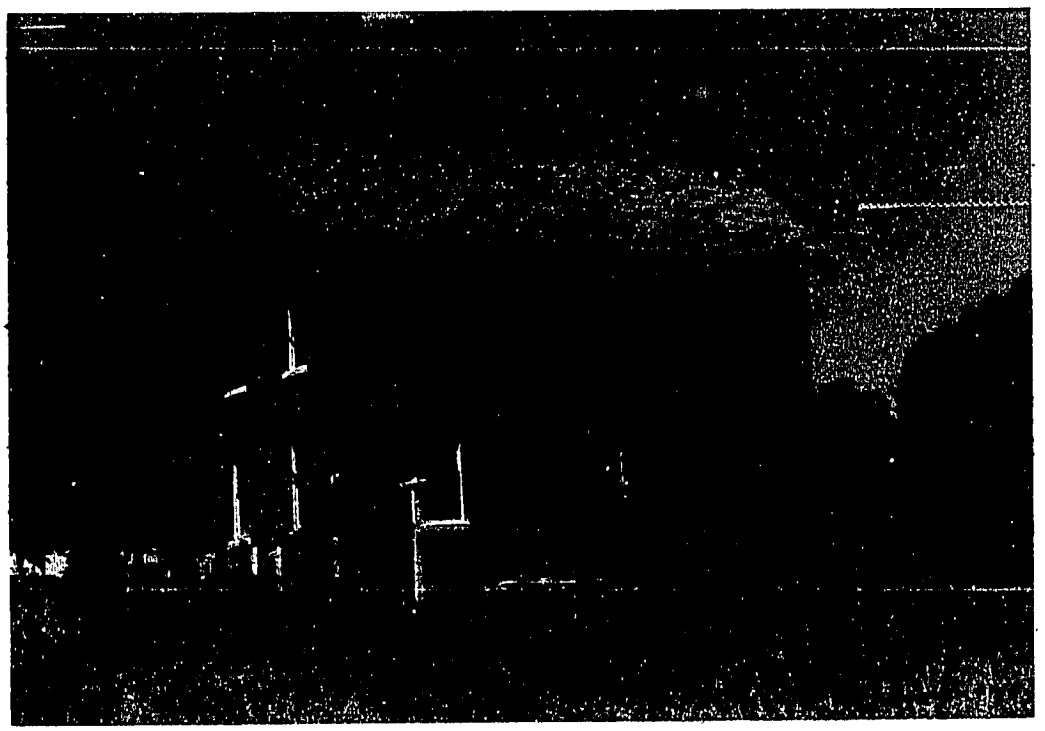


Figure 109 ; type XXX. Demill/Cox house, Manti, 5-27/SP-13-443. 1 1/2 story stone XY^1 house, c.1870. The house was remodeled around 1880 into an XY^3X house by closing off the central staircase (10/7/83).



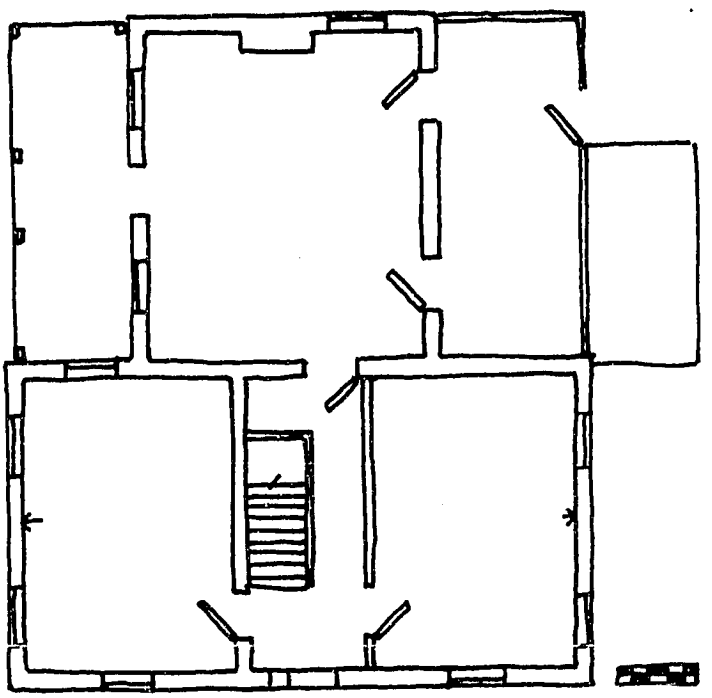


Figure 110: Type XXXI. Rees Llewelyn house, Fountain Green, 4-9/SP-09-155. 2 story brick XY^3X house with original ell, c.1875. The front door has now been closed. The house was used to house several wives in the nineteenth century (5/14/79).

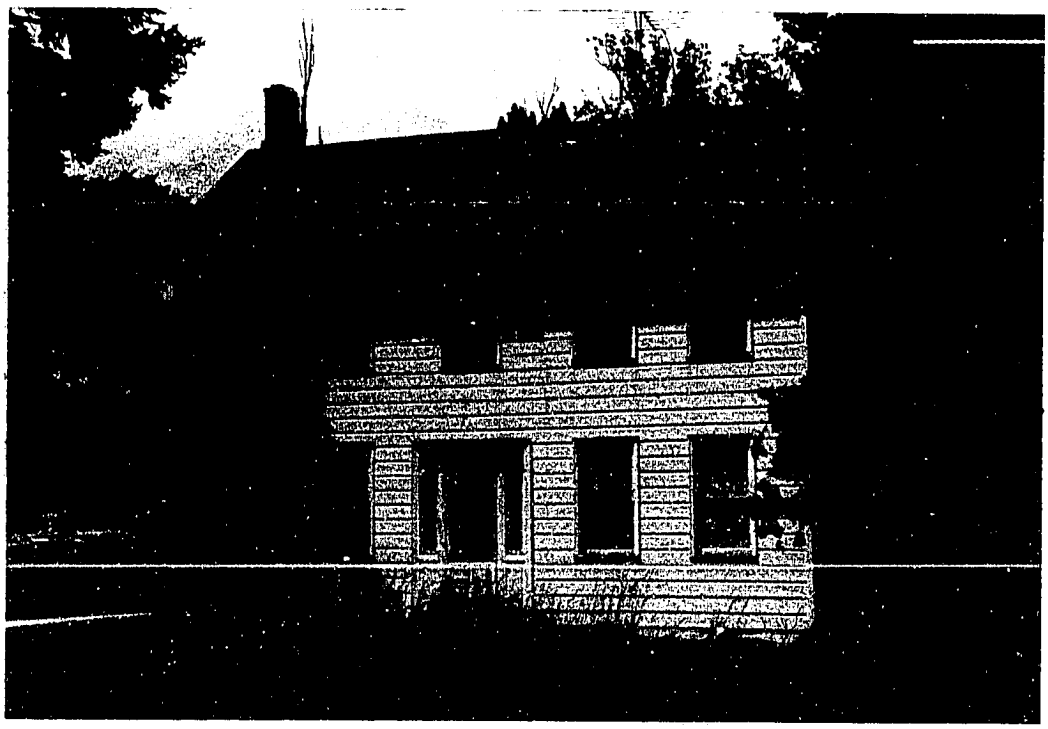


Figure 111: Type XXXI. James Allred house, Spring City, 8-17/SP-17-71. 2 story frame XY^3X house with original ell, c.1874.

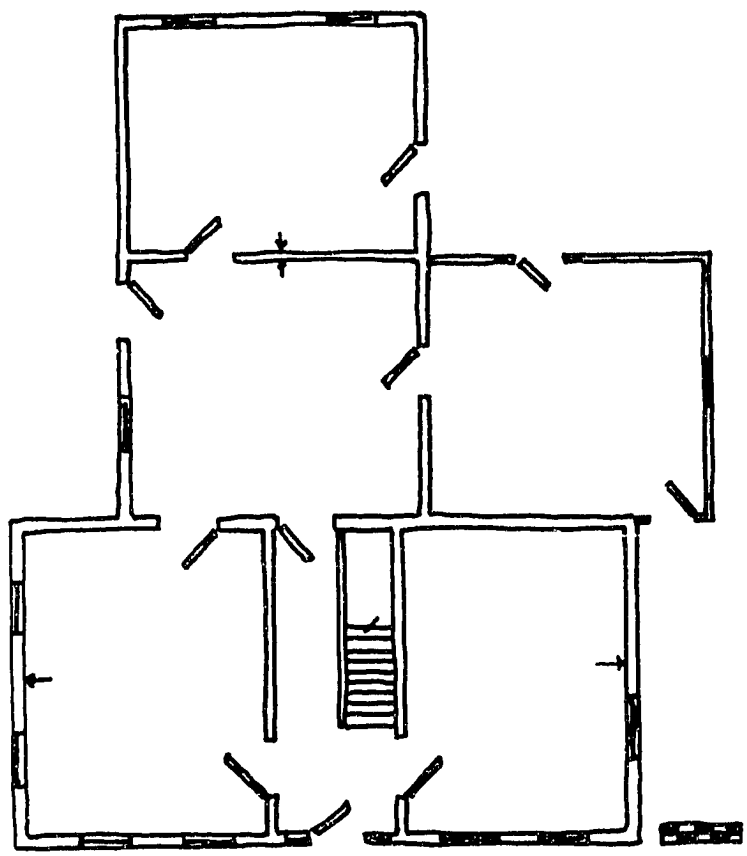
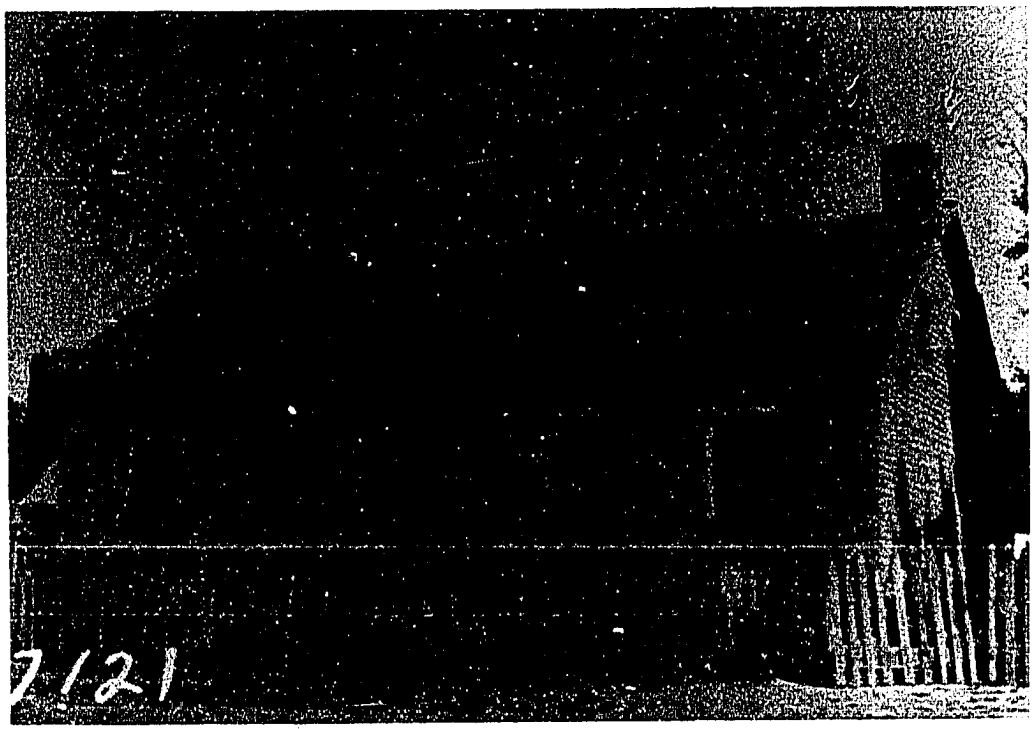


Figure 112. Floorplan of the James Allred house, Spring City, (10/6/78).



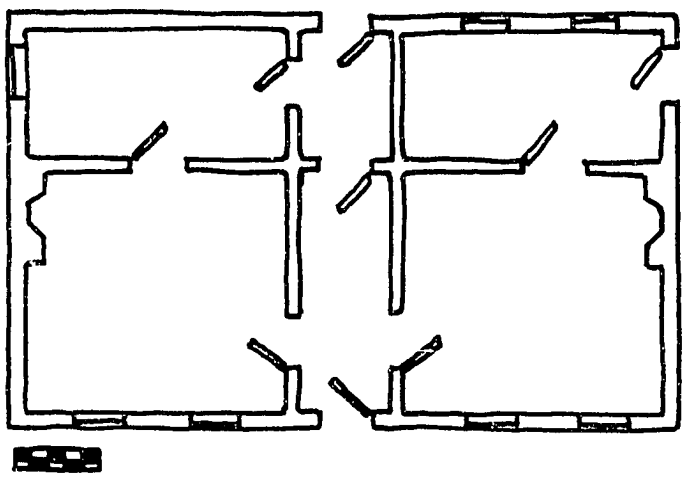


Figure 113: Type XXXII. Soren Larsen house, Spring City, 8-5/SP-17-19. 1 story adobe double pile XY^3X house, c.1865. The house was demolished in 1979 (10/78).

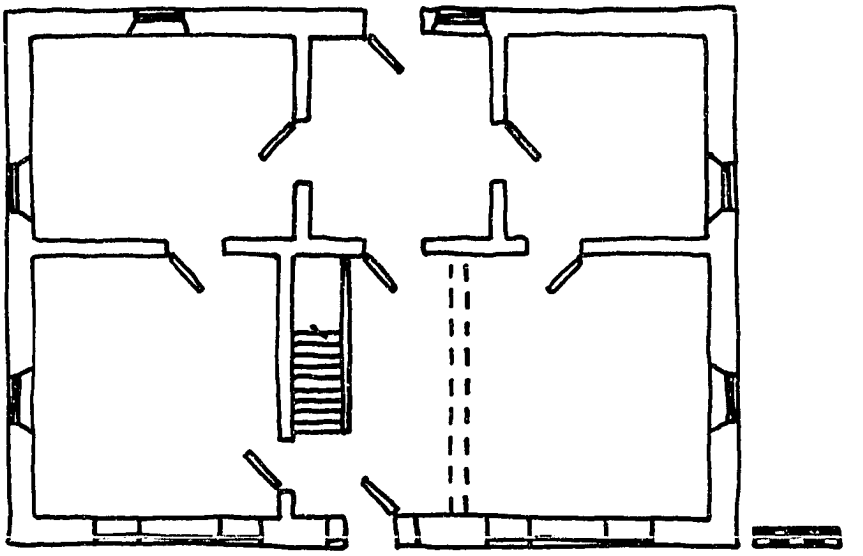


Figure 114: Type XXXIII. Jens Frost house, Ephraim, 2-9/SP-06-39. 1 1/2 story plastered stone double pile XY^3X house, c.1865-1870. Recent remodeling has inclued the removal of the central passageway and the placing of picture windows on the front facade (4/27/79).

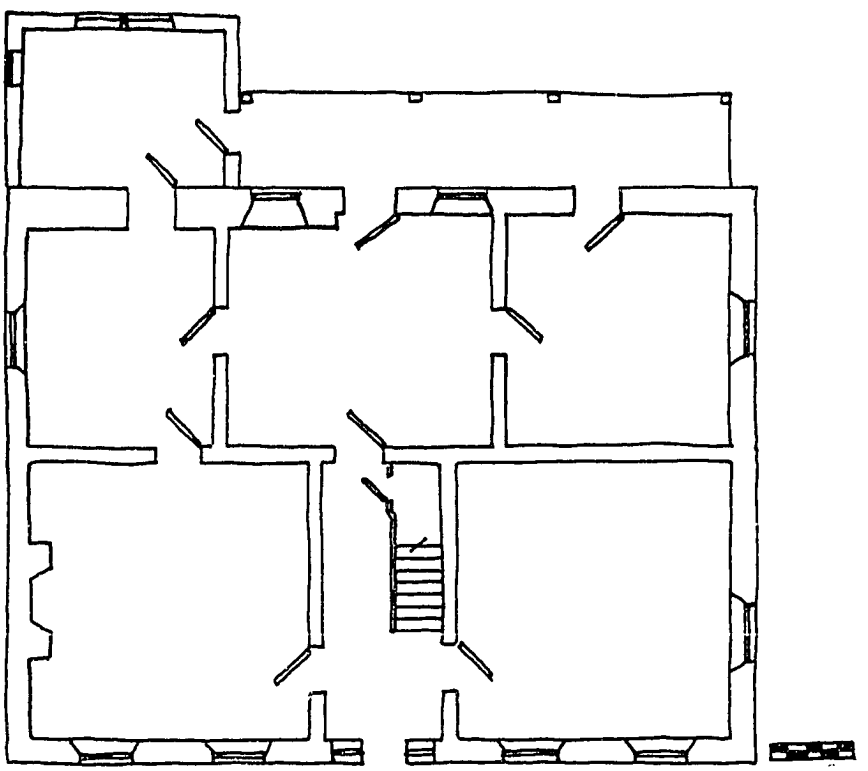


Figure 115: Type XXXIV. Canute Petersen house, Ephraim, 2-32/SP-06-295. 2 story brick double pile XY^3X house, c.1867.

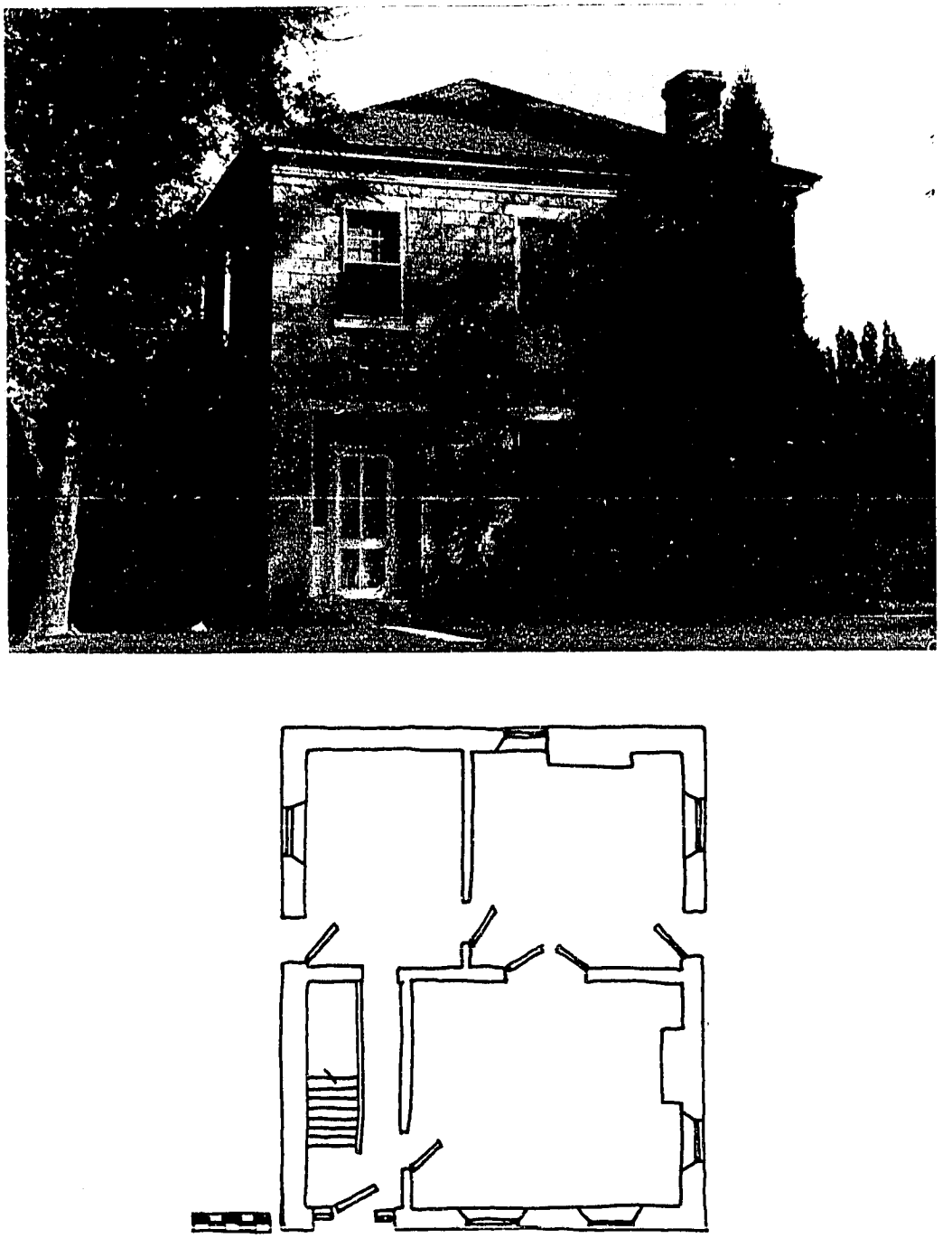


Figure 116: Type XXXIV, two-thirds subtype. Henry Parsons house, Manti, 5-43/SP-13-589. 2 story stone double pile XY^3X house, c.1870 (6/8/82).

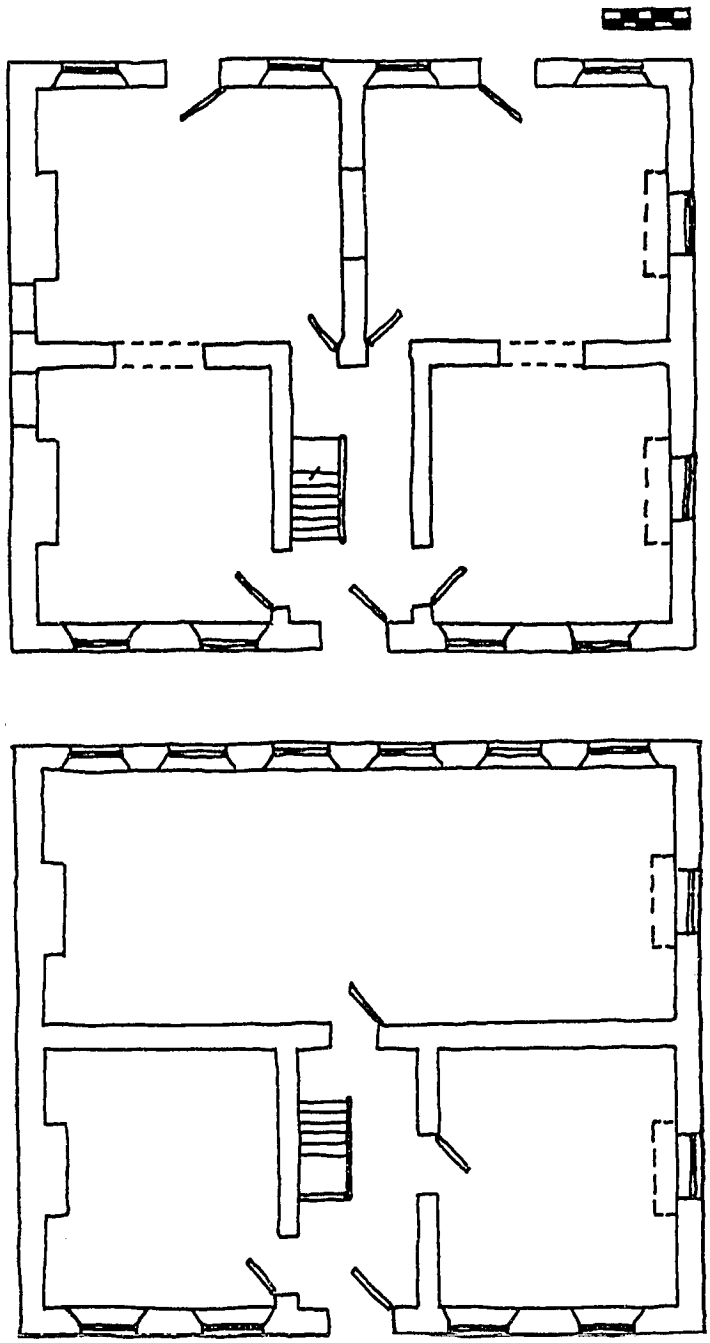


Figure 117: Type XXXIV. Fredrick W. Cox house first and second story floorplan, Manti, 5-33/SP-13-411. 2 story stone double pile XY^3X house, c.1858. Cox had five wives; four shared this large house and the fifth lived in a small adjacent house (see figure 64).

Pair Houses, Types XXXIX,XL,XLI,XLII,XLIII,XLIV,XLV,XLVI.

Utah pair houses are bound together by an adherence to a three unit base structure. The name "pair house" comes from the Swedish, "parstuga," meaning literally a pair of rooms, but referring to a house with a pair of rooms flanking a central room.[43] In the Sanpete Valley these houses are characteristically long, being from 40 to 50 feet in length and from 15 to 20 feet deep. There are four principal forms of the local pair house. The first (figures 122-125) has the smallest room in the center of the house. This room was invariably the kitchen. The second (figures 126-133) finds the largest room occupying the center of the house. In such a configuation, this room functioned as a multi-purpose living room with the kitchen being moved into one of the side rooms or pushed into a rear lean-to or ell. The third (figure 134) has an asymmetrical internal plan fronted by a symmetrical facade. It is not known how these rooms were used though it seems likely that the kitchen was located to one side. The fourth (figures 135-137) is recognized by an indented porch leading to a smaller square middle room which, again, usually served as the kitchen.

The history of the Utah pair house forms is complex and involves several different streams of immigrant tradition. Sanpete types XXXV, XXXVI, XXXVII, and XXXVIII are all what might be called "true" pair houses for they have the smaller unit containing the kitchen in the center of the house. This formal and functional arrangement most closely adheres to the oldest pair house types found in sixteenth and seventeenth century Sweden and Norway.[44] It should be noted that this Scandinavian house form is not traditionally found in the southern

Figure 118: Estate outside Copenhagen, c.1750.

Swedish province of Skane or in Denmark, the two areas that sent the great majority of converts to the Sanpete Valley. In these areas the venerable dwelling form was a type of longhouse which contained both house and barn.[45] The specific origins of the Sanpete types XXXIX-XLIII are found in a Palladian-inspired version of the pair house which was introduced into both Skane and Denmark during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

If the Renaissance legacy to Anglo-American tradition was the Georgian house, its contribution to Scandinavian folk architecture was a large classically appointed triparite house that became the principal dwelling form found on large estates (herrgard) during the eighteenth century (figure 118).[46] This mansion-type house was distinguished by its symmetrical facade and the presence of a large room in the center of

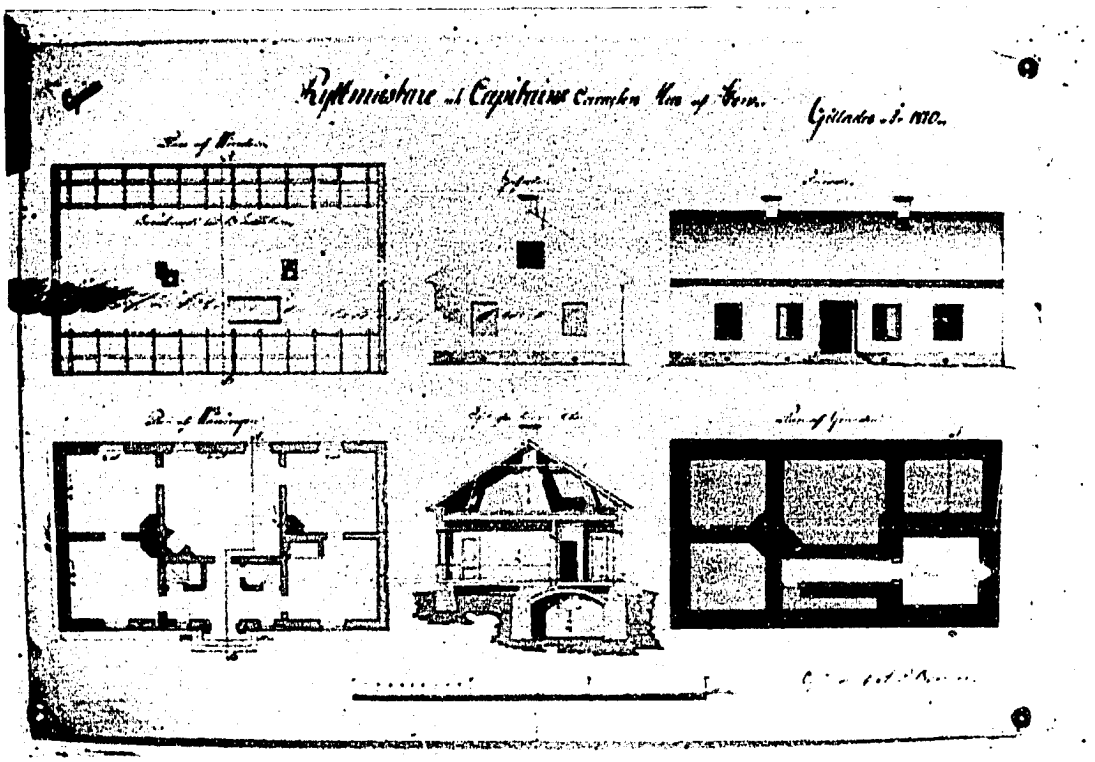


Figure 119: Design for officers barracks, Skane [From Klercker, Skanes Hembygdsforbund Arbok (1969)].

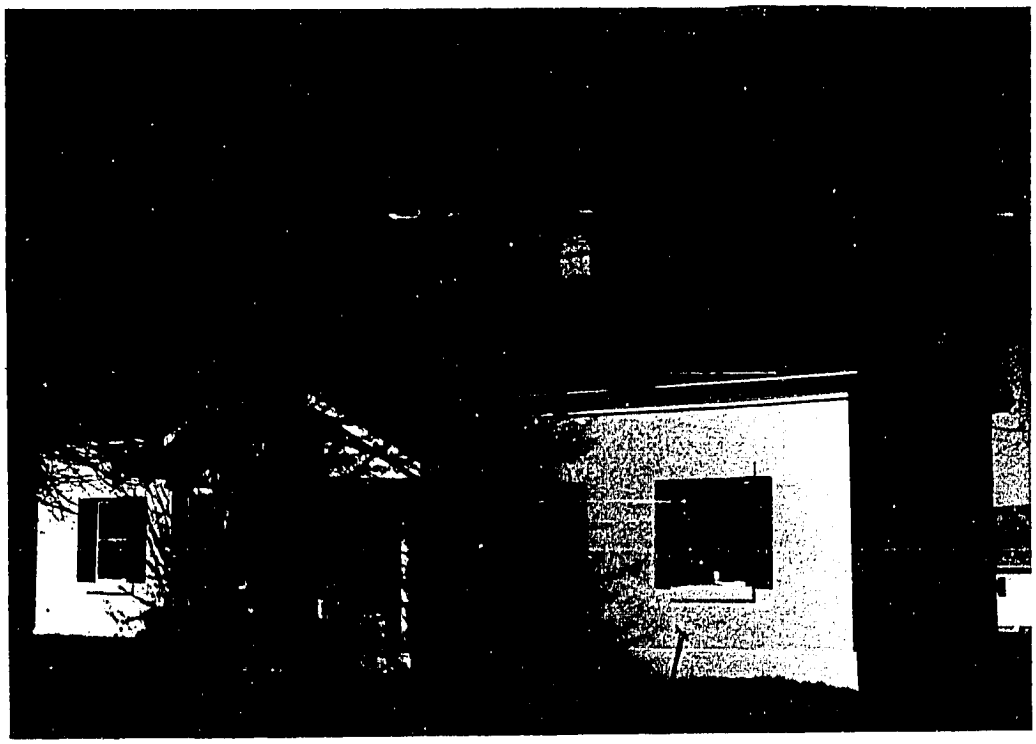
the plan. This new architectural style influenced later designs for smaller pair houses, with the narrow kitchen being replaced by a wider "sal," or living room.[47] This variant of the pair house was first introduced into Skane during the eighteenth century as an army officer's dwelling and it became a popular building form for local farmhouses as well (figure 119).[48] The same type of change occurred in Denmark during the nineteenth century, with both urban and rural vernacular dwellings beingdesigned according to the new fashion. It was during the time when the Mormon converts were leaving for Utah that the Danish longhouse was gradually being replaced by the tripartite, symmetrical

Figure 120: Danish Pair-house, Zealand, c.1890. The Danish pair house is usually found with a double pile plan and a centrally placed cross gable on the facade.

Figure 121: Rasmus Jacobsen house, Ephraim, Type XXXVI pair house, c.1875.

house--the geometric Palladian block (figure 120).[50]. The pair house then was a relative new comer to rural Denmark; it was the house that was beginning to be seen on the more prosperous farms. Mormon converts generally came, not from the poorest levels of Danish society, but from the rural laboring and artisan clasess, groups that generally had not shared in the general agricultural prosperity of the nineteenth century.[51] For these people Utah offered a new set of opportunities and the memory of the newly introduced middle-class house form did not fade. When new houses were built in Zion, the pair house became an attractive reality (figure 121).

The pair house form was introduced into the Sanpete Valley from various points in Scandinavia. Oluf Larsen had known the house in his native Norway (figure 125), Peter Monson had perhaps built them in Sweden (figures 129 and 130), and men like Jacob Nielsen and Jens Jensen would have seen them being built on the large farms around their villages in Denmark (figures 124 and 126). Coming together in Utah, these diverse streams of tradition merged to create an essentially new architectural form. Type XLIV, the house with the irregular plan, must be viewed as a unique local variant of the pair house form and while Swedish houses have been recorded which resemble types XLV and XLVI, no clear parallels can be offered without further research.[52]



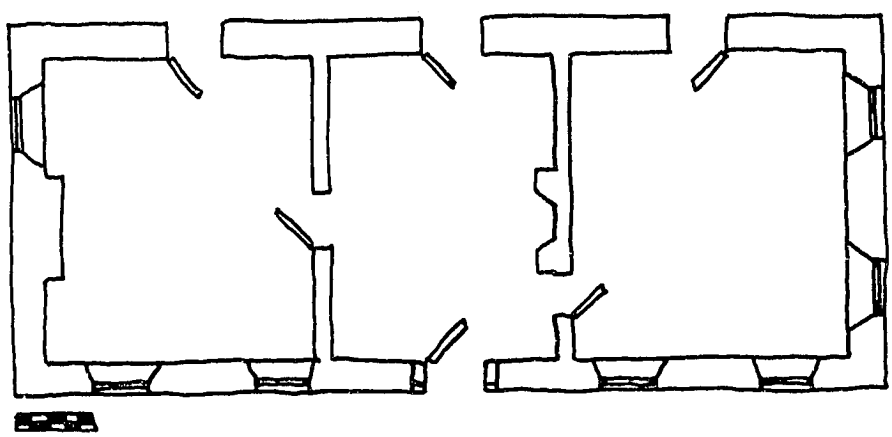


Figure 122: Type XXXV. Hans Ottersen house, Manti, 5-18/SP-13-155. 1 story plastered stone XY^{1}X pair house, c.1860 (3/31/79).

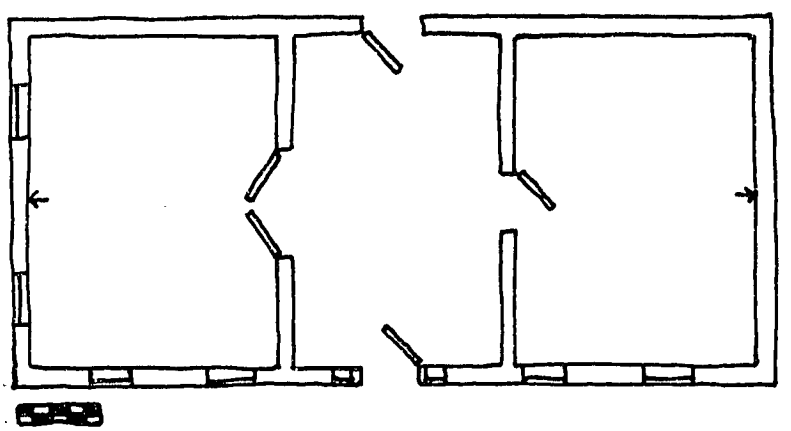


Figure 123: Type XXXVI. Hansen-Madsen house, Mount Pleasant, 7-15/SP-16-444. 1 1/2 story plastered adobe XY^2X pair house, c.1875. Several twentieth century rear additions are not presented in the plan (5/16/79).

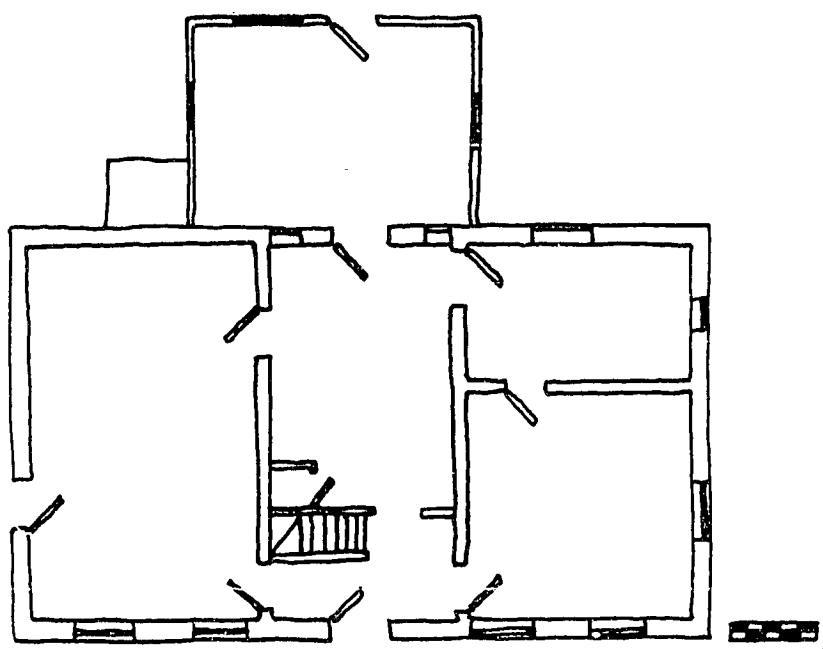
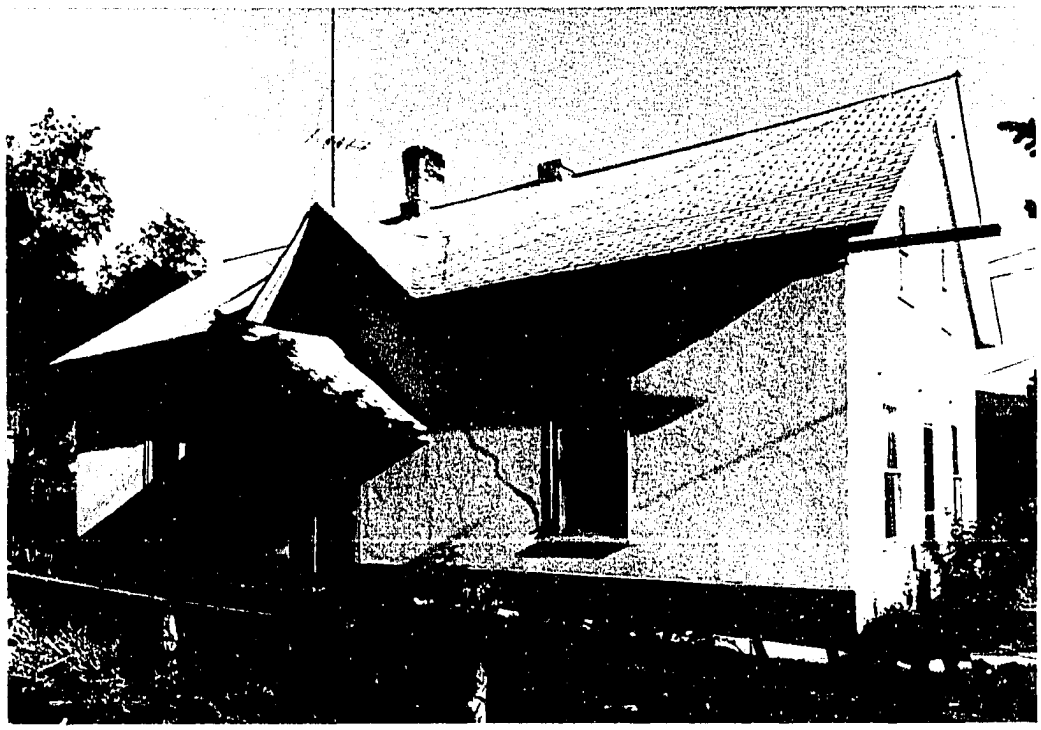


Figure 124: Type XXXVII. Jacob Nielsen house, Ephraim, 2-6/SP-06-14. 1 1/2 story stone double pile pair house, c.1872-1874 (5/83). Photo c.1930, the house has now been plastered and painted white.



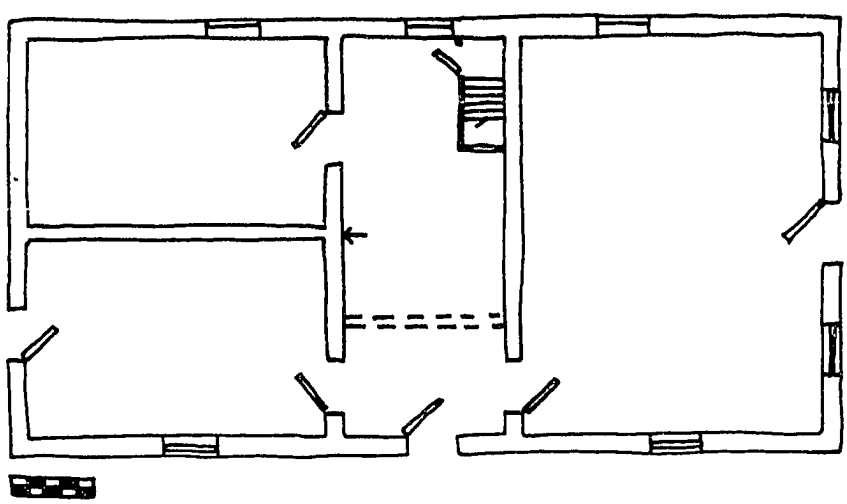
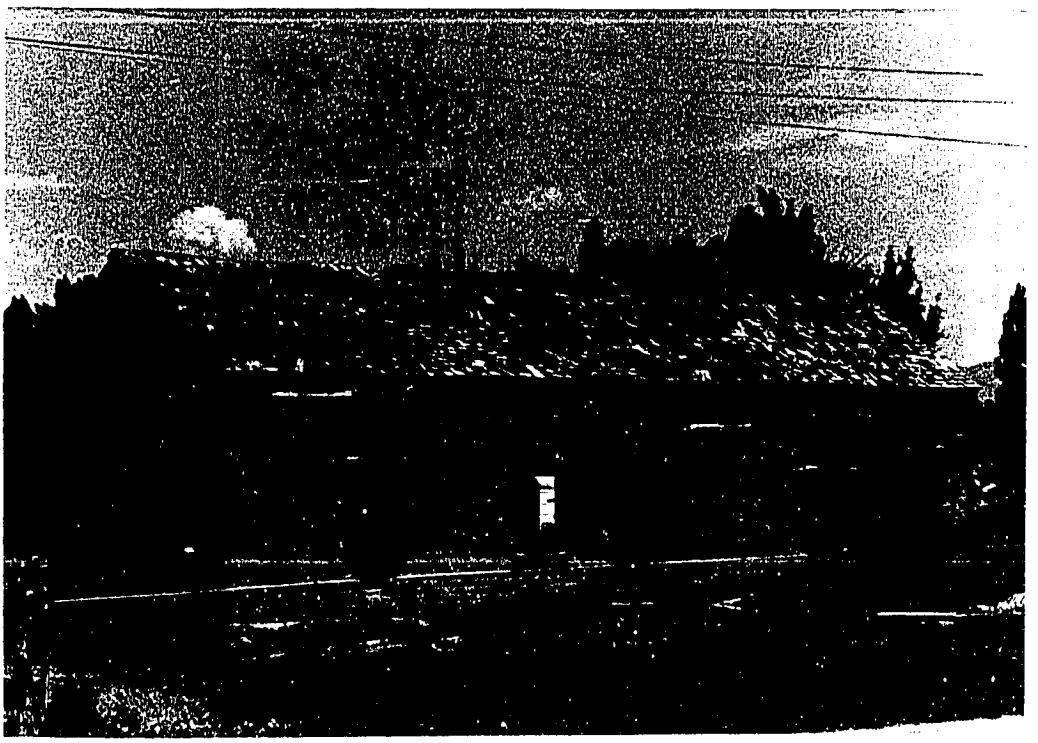


Figure 125: Type XXXIX. Olaf Larsen house, Ephraim, 2-28/SP-06-225. 1 1/2 story adobe XY^2X pair house, c.1870 (the front of the house faces to the right in the plan drawing).



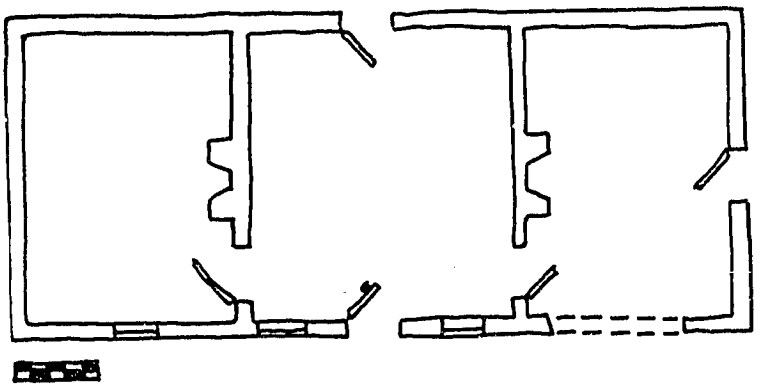


Figure 126: Type XXXIX. Jens Jensen house, Spring City, 8-7/SP-17-26. 1 story adobe $Y^{1}XY^{1}$ pair house, c.1860 (6/2/78). The Jensen house was demolished in 1979.

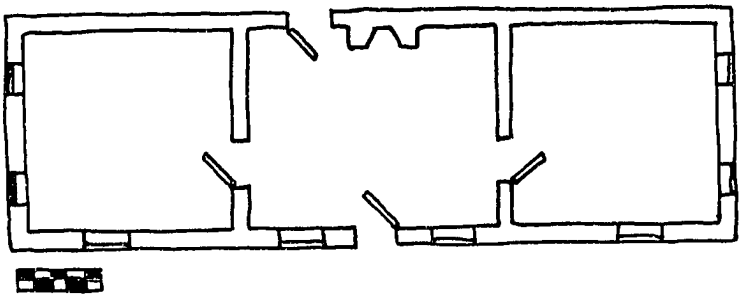


Figure 127: Type XXXIX. Claus Andersen house, Ephraim, 2-7/SP-06-31. 1 story plastered adobe ZXZ house, c.1865 (3/31/79). The house originally had a seven bay facade but two windows in the outside rooms were closed in during the late nineteenth century.

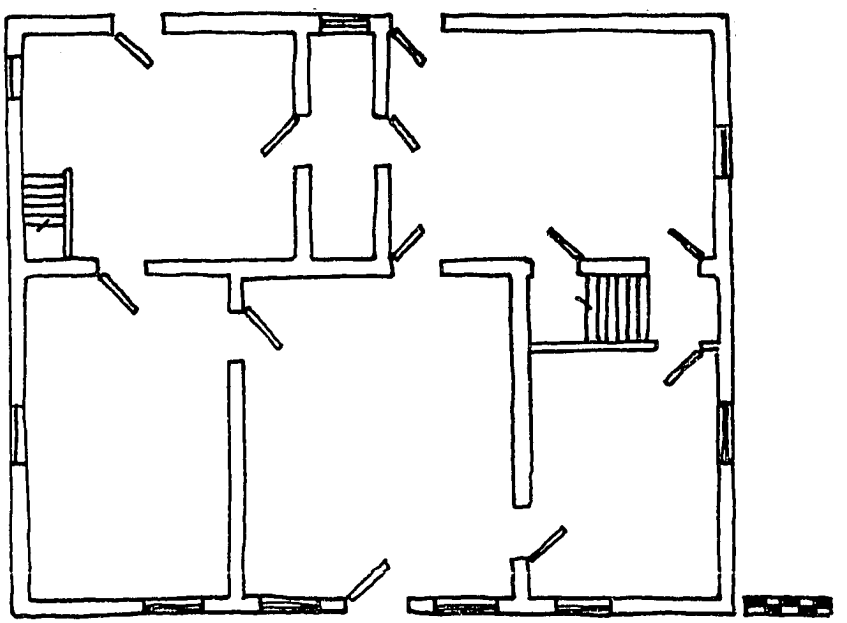


Figure 128: Type XL: Fredrick Christian Sorensen house, Ephraim, 2-27/SP-06-216. 1 1/2 story plastered adobe $Y^{1}XY^{1}$ pair house with original lean-to extension, c.1865 (5/29/78).

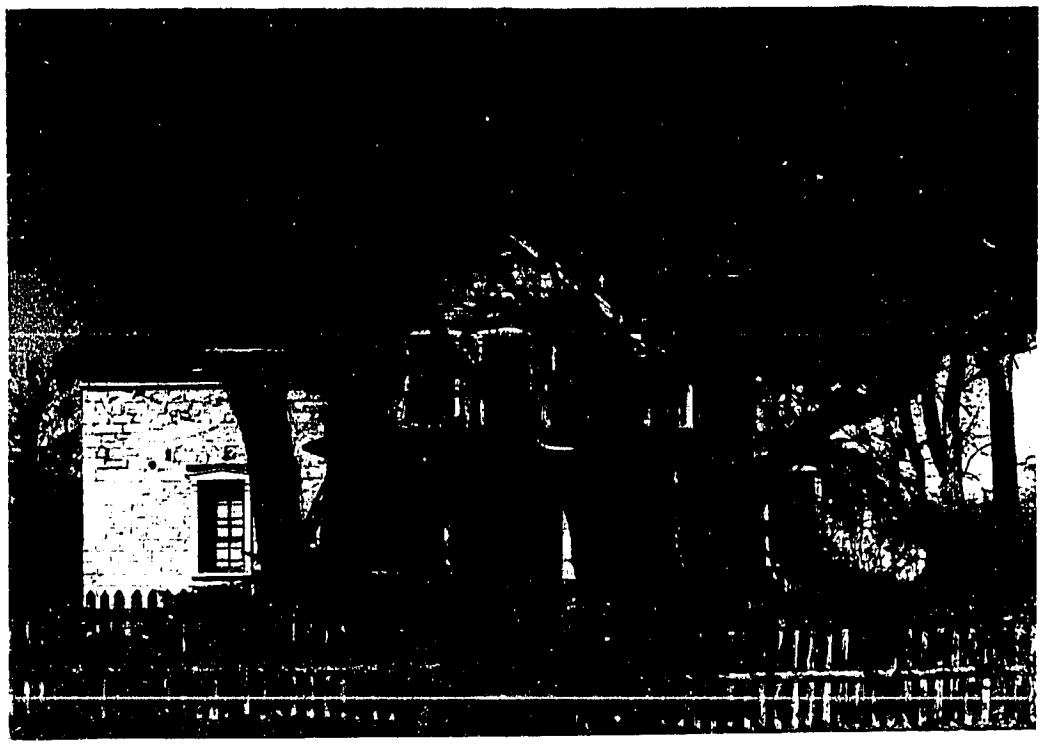


Figure 129: Type XL. Monson-Larsen house, Spring City, 8-29/SP-17-145. 1 1/2 story stone $Y^{1}XY^{1}$ pair house with original ell, 1875-1883.

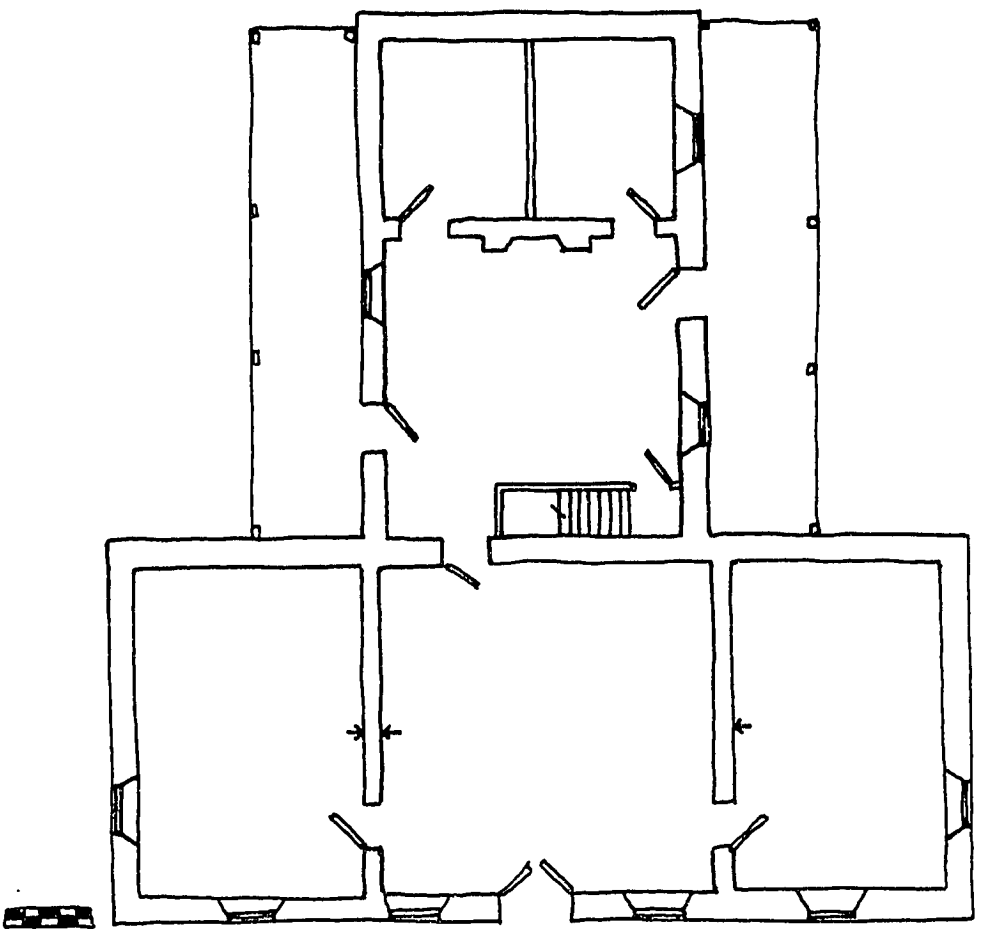
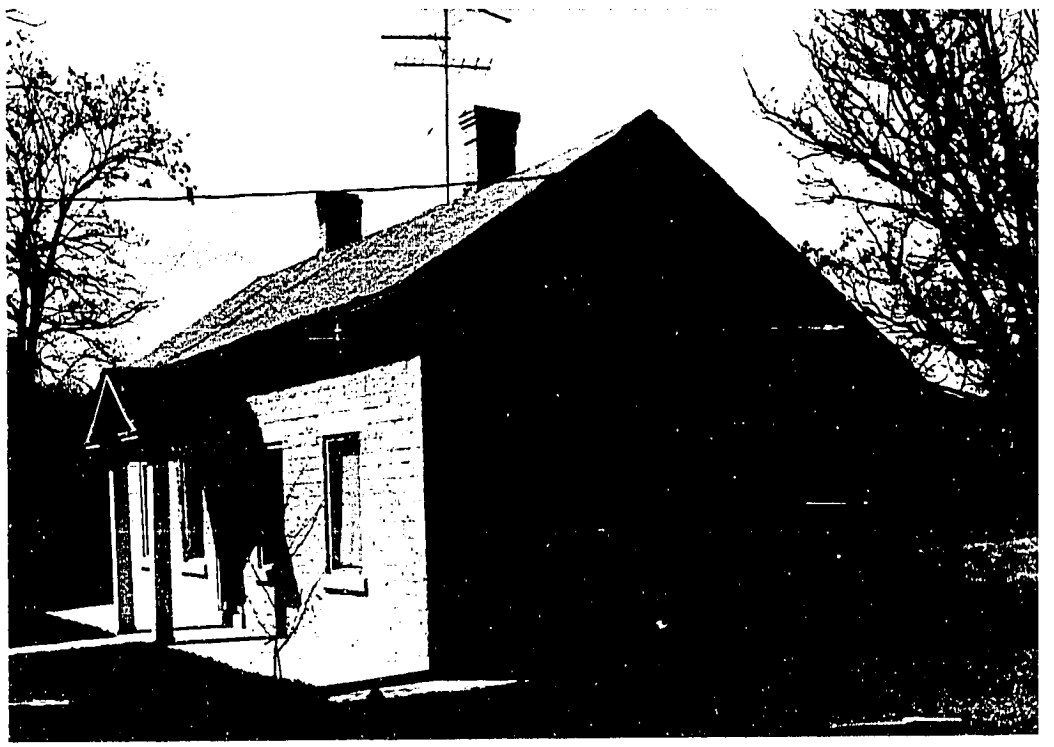


Figure 130: Floorplan of the Monson-Larsen house.



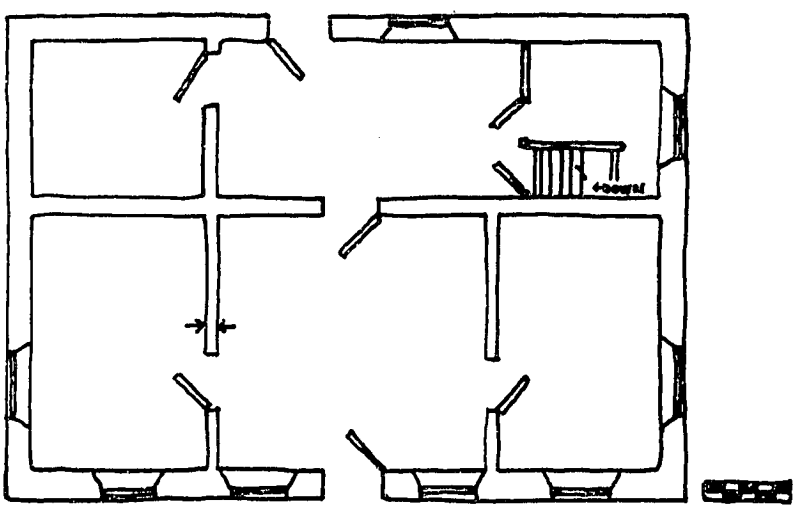
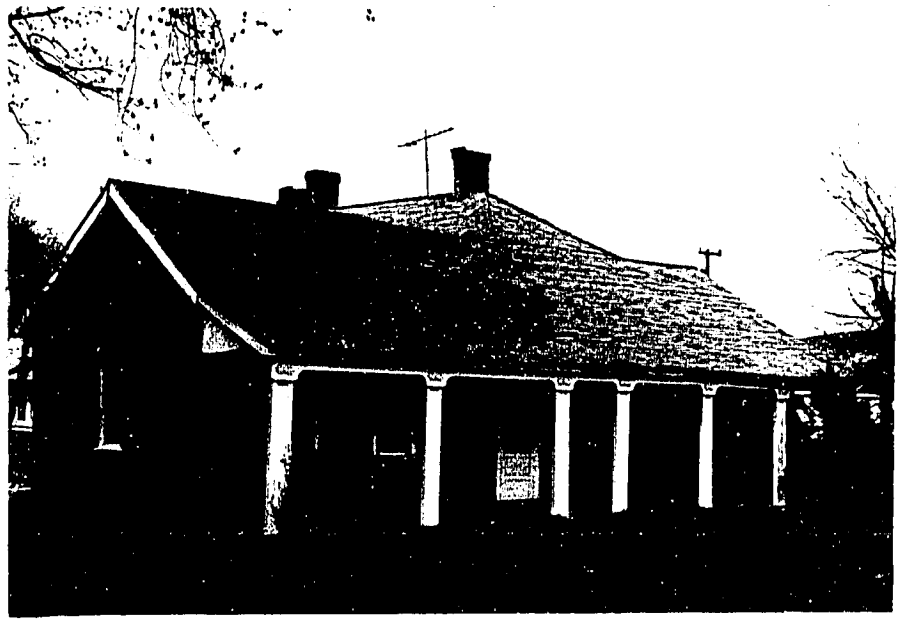


Figure 131: Type XLI. Hans C. Jensen house, Ephraim, 2-23/SP-06-162. 1 1/2 story stone double pile $Y^{1}XY^{1}$ pair house, c.1870 (8-24/78).



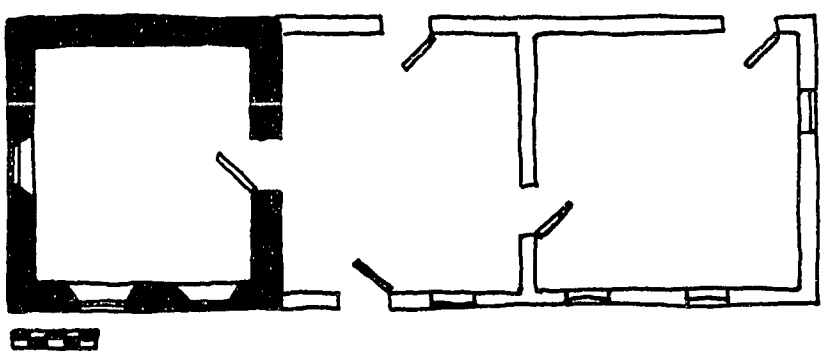


Figure 132: Type XLII. Lars Andersen house, Ephraim, 2-51/SP-06-448. 1 story stone and adobe bipartite XXX pair house, c.1865-1875. The original section was a stone X house to which two adobe X units were added. A large house was attached to the rear during the 1890-1900 period. This addition is not shown in the plan (4/23/79).

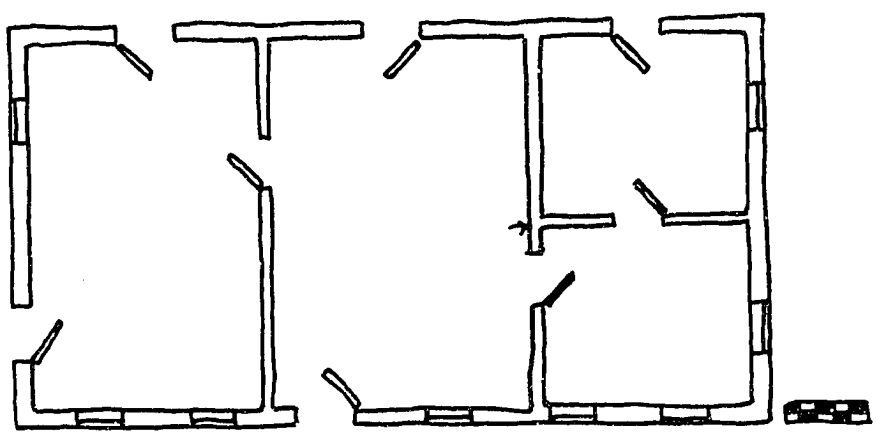


Figure 133: Type XLIII. Peter Hansen house, Manti, 5-13/SP-13-194. 1 story brick bipartite double pile pair house, c.1875 (3/27/79).

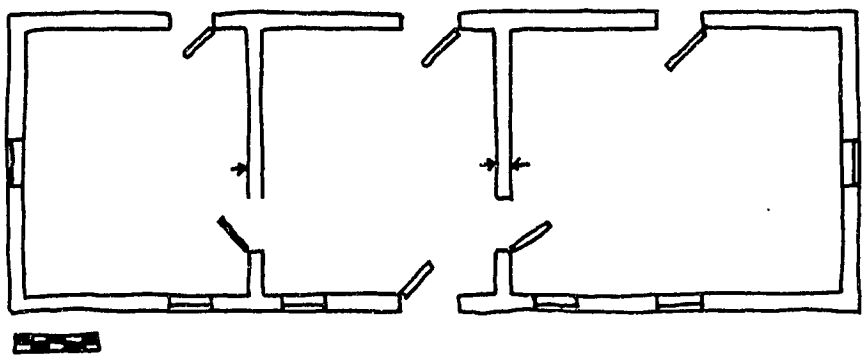


Figure 134: Type XLIV. Niels Mortensen house, Ephraim, 2-40/SP-06-373. 1 story plastered adobe pair house, c.1870. The symmetrical facade conceals the asmmetrical internal floorplan (2/26/79).

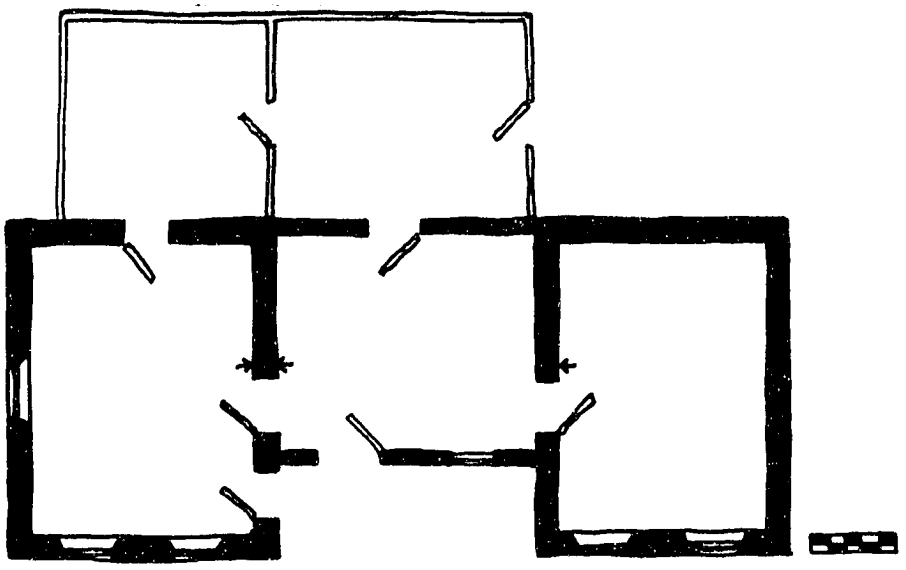
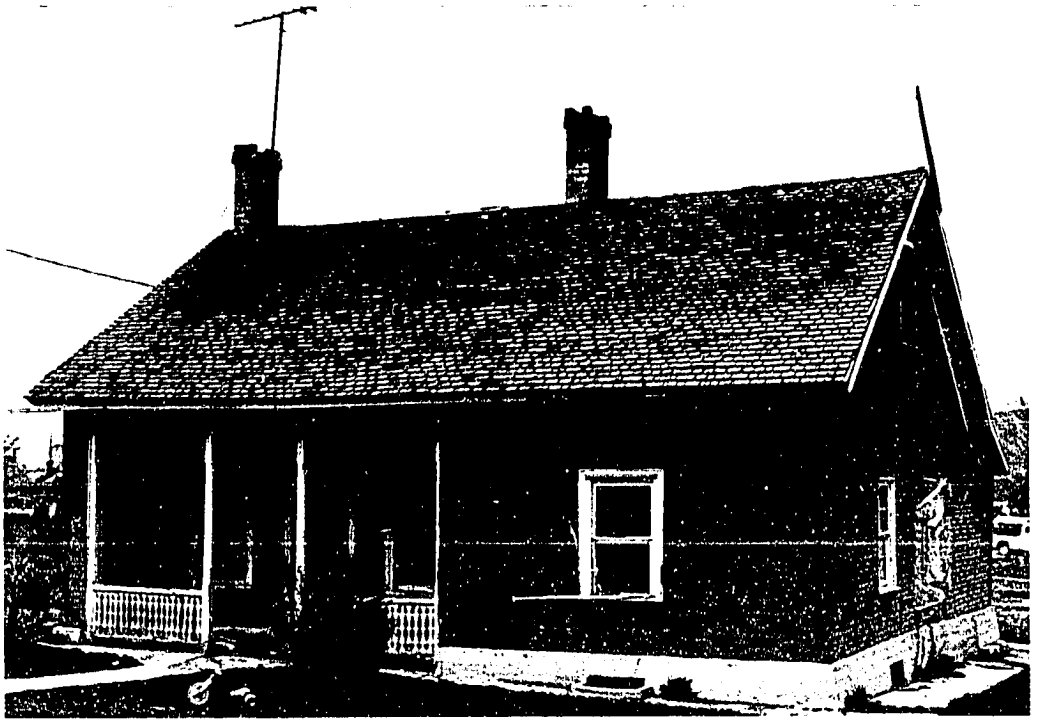


Figure 135: Type XLV. Christian Nielsen house, Ephraim, 2-14/SP-06/86. 1 story stone and adobe $Y^1X^2Y^1$ house, c.1870. There is a twentieth century frame lean-to on the rear of the house (9/6/78).



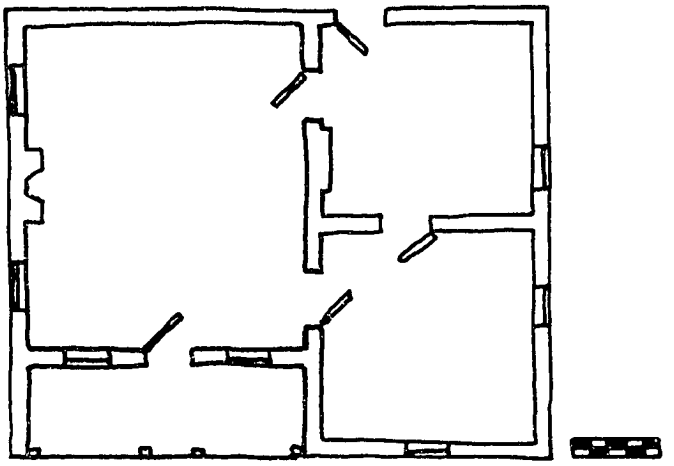
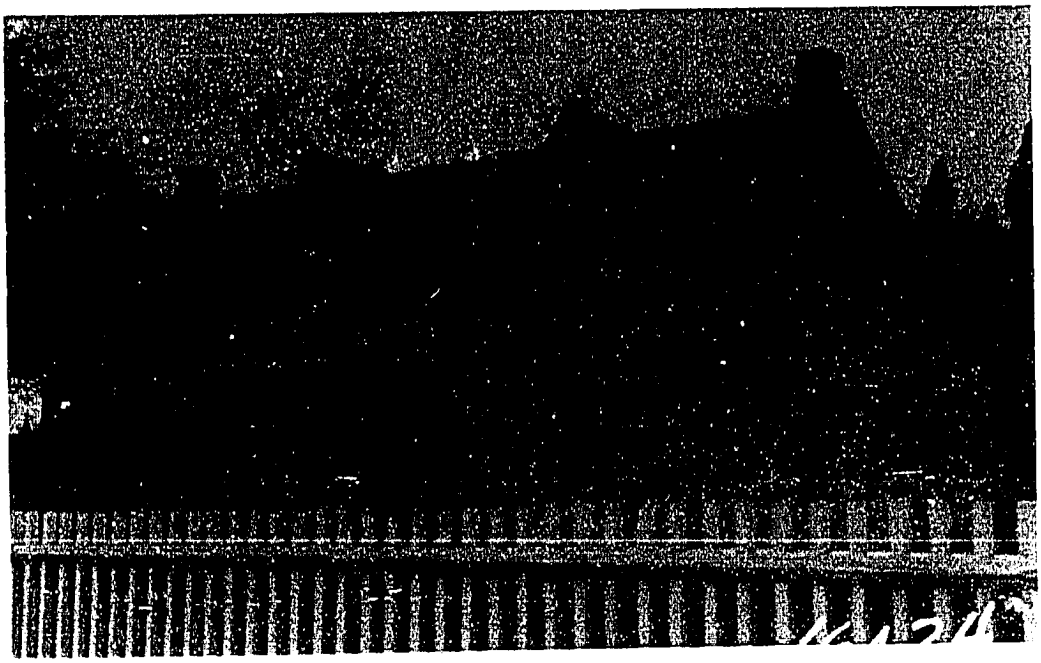


Figure 136: Type XLV, two-thirds subtype. Dykes Sorensen house, Ephraim, 2-3/SP-06-555. 1 story, asbestoes sided adobe pair house, c.1875 (4/26/79).



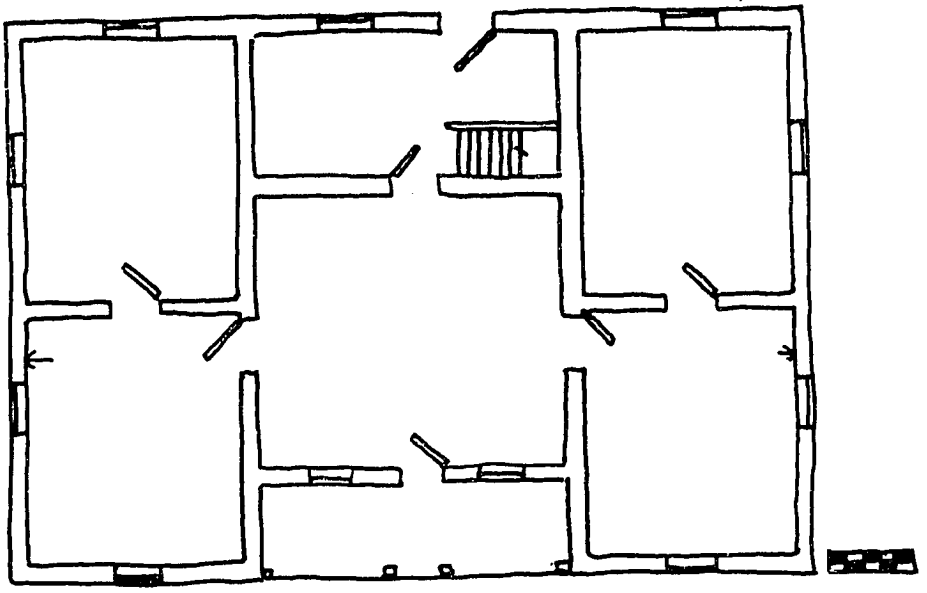


Figure 137: Type XLVI. James Hansen house, Mount Pleasant, 7-4/SP-16-137. 1 1/2 story plastered adobe pair house, c.1865. Photo c.1930. The house was extensively remodeled during the 1950s and the plan shown here is a reconstruction of what the original house might have looked like (5/26/79). Several of Hansens wives lived in the house.

Chapter V

Notes

1. For specific examples of architectural interchange, see Carter, "North-European Horizontal Log Construction in the Sanpete-Sevier Valleys," 60-71.

2. Historians of Mormonism are currently revising their estimates of the number of Saints participating in polygamy, finding that the exact figures vary from 5% to 50% depending upon the community. In the Sanpete Valley, it is safe to assume that between 10% and 15% of the households were polygamous. See Lowell C. Bennion, "Mormon Country a Century Ago: A Geographer's View," in The Mormon People: Their Character and Traditions, Charles Redd Monographs in History, 10, ed. by Thomas G. Alexander (Provo, Brigham Young University Press, 1980), 6, and Antrei and Scow, The Other 49'ers, 149-150.

3. No serious study of the architecture of polygamy has been accomplished. For several impressionistic accounts, see Paul Goeldner, Utah Catalog: Historic American Buildings Survey (Salt Lake City: Utah Heritage Foundation, 1969), 28-32; Paul Goeldner, "The Architecture of Equal Comforts: Polygamists in Utah," Historic Preservation, 24:1 (January-March 1972): 14-17; Jan Harold Brunvand, "The Architecture of Zion," The American West, 13:2 (March-April 1976): 29; Jan Harold Brunvand, "A Survey of Mormon Housing Traditions in Utah," Revue Roumaine D'Histoire De L'Art, 11 (1974): 123-124; Pitman, "Nineteenth Century Folk Housing in the Mormon Culture Region," 186-190; and Hayden, Seven American Utopias, 142.

4. Hans Jensen Hals, Diary, Typescript, LDS Church Archives.

5. The percentages given in this chapter are based upon the survey total of 836 houses. It should be pointed out that these numbers are the result of a windshield type survey and thus are susceptible to a certain margin of error, particularly in the rectangular cabin and hall-parlor categories which are hard to distinguish from the road. In the case of the larger buildings, i.e., the extended hall and central passageway houses, most initial observations were checked by actually recording the buildings. For the easily recognized houses like the double cell, double parlor, temple form, and pair house, the survey should be quite accurate.

6. See Eric Mercer, English Vernacular Houses (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1975), 28-33; R.W. Brunskill, Traditional Buildings of Britain (London: Victor Gollancz, 1980), 41, 57-58; M.W. Barley, The English Farmhouse and Cottage (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961), 247-260; Upton, "Early Vernacular Architecture," 55-56; Henry Glassie, "Types of the Southern Mountain Cabin," in Jan Harold Brunvand, The Study of American Folklore (New

York: W.W. Norton, 1968), 349-350; Abbot Lowell Cummings, The Framed Houses of Massachusetts Bay, 1625-1725 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), 22-23: Anthony N.B Garvan, Architecture and Town Planning in Colonial Connecticut (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1951), 81-85; J. Frederick Kelly, The Early Domestic Architecture of Connecticut (1924; reprint ed., New York: Dover, 1963), 6-7; and Whiffen, The Eighteenth Century Houses of Williamsburg, 56-57.

7. Upton, "Early Vernacular Architecture," 268-341; Glassie, Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States, 52; Glassie, Folk Housing in Middle Virginia, 43-45, 51, 64-65; Glassie, "Types of the Southern Mountain Cabin," 349-353; and Doug Swaim, "North Carolina Folk Housing," in Carolina Dwelling, The Student Publication of the School of Design, 26, ed. by. Doug Swaim (Raleigh: North Carolina State University, 1978), 29-31.

8. Warren E. Roberts, The Log Architecture of Southern Indiana (in press). See also, Marshall, Folk Architecture in Little Dixie, 39-46, 57-62; Montell and Morse, Kentucky Folk Architecture, 9-17; and Terry G. Jordan, Texas Log Buildings (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1975), 107-113.

9. Peter Michelsen, Frilands Museet: The Danish Museum Village at Sorgenfri (Copenhagen: The National Museum of Denmark, 1973), 114-117.

10. See Robert M. Lillibridge, "Architectural Currents on the Mississippi River, Nauvoo, Illinois," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, 19:3 (October 1960): 109-114.

11. See Pitman, "Nineteenth Century Folk Housing," 138-145, and Jennifer Eastman Attebury, "The Square Cabin: A Folk House Type in Idaho," Idaho Yesterdays, 26:3 (Fall 1982): 25-31.

12. Glassie, "Types of the Southern Mountain Cabin," 353-361.

13. Glassie, Folk Housing, 47, 51; Glassie, Pattern, 49, 52-53, 78-79; and Howard Wight Marshall, "The 'Thousand Acres' Log House, Monroe County, Indiana," Pioneer America, 3:1 (January 1971): 48-56.

14. Most of the Welsh immigrants in the Sanpete Valley were miners from Glamorganshire in southern Wales. The area was heavily industrialized by the early nineteenth century and housing in the larger towns consisted mainly of row houses. The basic unit in the row house was the rectangular cabin form. See J.B. Lowe, Welsh Industrial Housing, 1775-1875 (Cardiff: National Museum of Wales, 1977). For a general study of Welsh traditional architecture, see Smith, Houses of the Welsh Countryside and particularly Smith's Type A, 437.

15. See Upton, "Early Vernacular Architecture," 54-55; Glassie, Pattern, 65-66; Glassie, Folk Housing, 75-79, 88; and M.W. Barley, English

Farmhouse and Cottage, 70-71, 95-97.

16. Upton, "Early Vernacular Architecture," and Glassie, Folk Housing, 75-77.

17. See Glassie, Pattern, 156; Marshall, Folk Architecture, 50-51; and Kniffen, "Folk Housing," 556.

18. See Austin E. Fife, "Stone Houses of Northern Utah," Utah Historical Quarterly, 40:1 (Winter 1972): 6-23; Richard C. Poulson, "Stone Buildings in Beaver City," Utah Historical Quarterly, 43:3 (Summer 1975): 278-285; Pitman, "Nineteenth Century Folk Housing," 146-169; Carter, "Folk Design in Early Utah Architecture," 48, 51; and Linda Bonar, "Historic Houses in Beaver: An Introduction to Materials, Styles, and Craftsmen," Utah Historical Quarterly, 51:3 (Summer 1983): 212-228.

19. See Carter, "Folk Design," 49-50, 54-55.

20. Marcus Whiffen, American Architecture Since 1780: A Guide to the Styles (Cambridge: The M.I.T. Press, 1981), 38-47.

21. In developing this classificatory system for the temple form house, I have been aided by the comments and criticisms of Dell Upton.

22. For a catalog of Greek Revival stylistic elements, see John J.-G. Blumenson, Identifying American Architecture (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1977), 26-27.

23. Hamblin, Greek Revival Architecture, 259.

24. See Whiffen, American Architecture, 45-46; Hamblin, Greek Revival Architecture, 159-186; Pierson, American Buildings and Their Architects, 444-452; Glassie, Pattern, 129, 132-133; Kniffen, "Folk Housing," 558-559; and Leland M. Roth, A Concise History of American Architecture (New York: Harper and Row, 1979), 92-100.

25. See Rexford Newcomb, Architecture of the Old Northwest Territory: A Study of Early Architecture in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Part of Minnesota (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950); Wilbur D. Peat, Indiana Houses of the Nineteenth Century (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1962), 35-41; and Pierce Lewis, "Common Houses, Cultural Spoor," Landscape, 19:2 (January 1975): 15-17.

26. I have taken the double-parlor name from Pocius, "Architecture on Newfoundland's Southern Shore," 222-225.

27. See Upton, "Early Vernacular Architecture," 47-52; Mercer, English Vernacular Houses, 28-29; Henry Glassie, Passing the Time in Ballymenone (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982), 330-331; and R.W. Brunskill, Illustrated Handbook of Vernacular Architecture (London: Faber and Faber, 1971), 100-101.

28. Ivor Noel Hume, Martin's Hundred (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1982), 192.

29. See Brunvand, "A Survey of Mormon Housing Tradition," 123; Pitman, "Nineteenth Century Folk Housing," 188. The "one door for each wife" idea is refuted in Spencer, "House Types of Southern Utah," 448.

30. See Glassie, Pattern, 82-83; Marshall, Folk Architecture, 46-49; Kniffen, "Folk Housing," 561-563; and Erixon, Svensk Byggnadskultur, 376-386.

31. The plan of the Lauritz Jensen house is reminiscent of the three-room "continental plan" documented in the German communites of Pennsylvania. See Robert C. Bucher, "The Continental Log House," Pennsylvania Folklife, 12:4 (Summer 1962): 14-19, and Henry Glassie, "A Continental Log House," Pennsylvania Folklife, 18:2 (Winter 1968-69): 32-39.

32. Glassie, Folk Housing, 48, 50-51, 117-122.

33. See Pierson, American Buildings, 450-451, and Erixon, Svensk Byggnadskultur, 297.

34. The public/private conflict in Mormon society is discussed in Mark P. Leone, "Archaeology as the Science of Technology: Mormon Town Plans and Fences," in Research and Theory in Current Archaeology, ed. by. Charles Redman (New York, 1973), 144-145.

35. The best description of the Georgian house is found in Glassie, "Eighteenth Century Cultural Process in Delaware Valley Folk Building," 35-37.

36. Kelly, Early Domestic Architecture of Connecticut, 20-21; Glassie, Pattern, 49, 54-55, 56-59, 124-125, 127-128; and Glassie, "Delaware Valley Folk Building," 29-57.

37. Glassie, Folk Housing, 66-113, and Pattern, 64-69.

38. Kniffen, "Folk Housing," 553-556.

39. The central passageway house's presence in Mormon communities has been vastly overestimated since the publication of Richard Francaviglia's "Mormon Central-Hall Houses in the American West" in 1971. The dominance of the central passageway form has been successfully challanged by Pitman ("Nineteenth Century Folk Housing," 167) and Carter ("Folk Design," 49)

40. See Glassie, Pattern, 128-131, and Kelly, Early Domestic Architecture in Connecticut, 12.

41. For a detailed discussion of the central-passageway remodeling of one Sanpete Valley house, see Thomas Carter, "Time As an Analytical Concept in Material Culture," in American Material Culture and Folklife: Prologue and Dialogue, ed. Simon J. Bronner (Ann Arbor,

Michigan: UMI Research Press, forthcoming).

42. The "two-thirds" subtype is treated in Glassie, Folk Housing, 35-37; Pattern, 67-68; and "Delaware Valley Folk Building," 35-40. See also, Ernest Allen Connally, "The Cape Cod House: an Introductory Study," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, 19:2 (May 1960): 52-53.

43. Erixon, Svensk Byggnadskultur, 286.

44. Ibid., 286-346, and Jahn, Byggeskiker Pa Den Norske Landsbygd, 6-25, 56-57, 65.

45. See Halvor Zangenberg, Danske Bondergaard (Kobenhavn: Det Schonbergske Forlag, 1925); Bjarne Stoklund, Bondegard og Byggskik for 1850 (Kobenhavn: Dansk Historisk Faellesforenings Handboger, 1972), 55-76; and Monika Minnhagen, Bondens Bostad: En Studie Rorande Boningslangans Form, Funktion, och Forandring i Sydostra Skane (Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1973).

46. See Brogaard, Lund, and Norregard-Nielsen, Danmarks Arkitektur, 141-159, 162-176; Landberg and Langkilde, Dansk Byggesaet, 116; Sigurd Wallin, Byggnadsskick i Herrgardar, Bostallen, och Stader (Stockholm: Aktiebolag et Skoglunds Bokforlag, 1947), 45, 113-138; Lundberg, Svensk Bostad, 161; and Erixon, Svensk Byggnadskultur, 796-817.

47. Erixon, Svensk Byggnadskultur, 506-512; Jahn, Byggeskiker Pa Den Norske Landsbygd, 78-79; and Ek, "Cultural Encounter," 31-45.

48. Jonas af Klercker, "Officersbostallen i Skane Under Indelningsverkets Tid, 1682-1878," Skanes Hembygdsforbund Arbok (1969), 39-57, and Minnhagen, Bondens Bostad, 82-94.

49. While it is generally recognized that great changes occurred in Danish vernacular architecture during the mid-nineteenth century, very little substantive research has been accomplished to date. For a general background into the nature of the sweeping cultural transformation that was taking place I have relied upon Palle Ove Christiansen's "Peasant Adaptation to Bourgeois Culture." In the area of architecture itself, I have found the following studies useful in developing my model of housing change: Bjarne Stoklund, "Landsbygninger Indtil 1870," 80-82; Brogaard, Lund, and Norregard-Nielsen, Danmarks Arkitektur, 52-66; Millech, Danske Arkitekturstromning 1850-1950, 103-164; Lisbet Balslev Jorgensen, Danmarks Arkitektur: Enfamiliehuset (Kobenhavn: Gyldendal, 1979); Klercker, "Officersbostallen i Skane," 40; Sigrid Svensson, "Gammal Bondetradition och Ny Tid," in Svenska Folket Genom Tiderna, ed by Ewert Wrangel (Malmo: Tidskriftsforlaget, 1939), 214-223; Sven B. Ek, "Fiktioner om 1800-talets Kulturomvandling, Rig, 1 (1972): 1-7; Ek, "Nybilding Och Tradition: Forandringar Inom Allmogens Bostadsskick i Norra Angermanland," Arkiv For Norrlandsk Hemsygdsforskying, 16 (1959-1960): 13-31; and Ek, "Cultural Encounter," 31-45.

50. See Hvidt, Flight to America, 123-135.

51. I photographed a Type XLV pair house with an indented porch near Fjalkinge, Skane, October, 1980.

Chapter VI

Practical Carpentry: Techniques and Materials

If the designing capabilities of the folk architectural process allowed the system to function at the conceptual level, it was nonetheless an understanding of basic building technologies that transformed ideas of correct form into material fact. Through a series of geometrical calculations, early Sanpete Valley house carpenters were able to square corners, place openings, and determine the length of structural members. A set of traditional techniques was then called upon to work the available materials, whether they were clay, rock, or wood, into actual walls and roofs. This chapter is concerned primarily with documenting the second of these building tasks, the actual ways of building houses used in the Sanpete Valley during the 1849-1890 period. The purpose of this work is first to complete the descriptive examination of the local folk architectural style and then to use this information as a means for running a check on the initial observations made concerning the diversity of the house types themselves. It can be shown that building techniques differed significantly from house to house here during the early years of settlement, a fact that furnishes further evidence of the absence of a local architectural synthesis. In this way, building technology helps reaffirm the multi-cultural nature of early Mormon society.

By the middle years of the nineteenth century, traditional building practices may generally be understood in terms of two operations. The

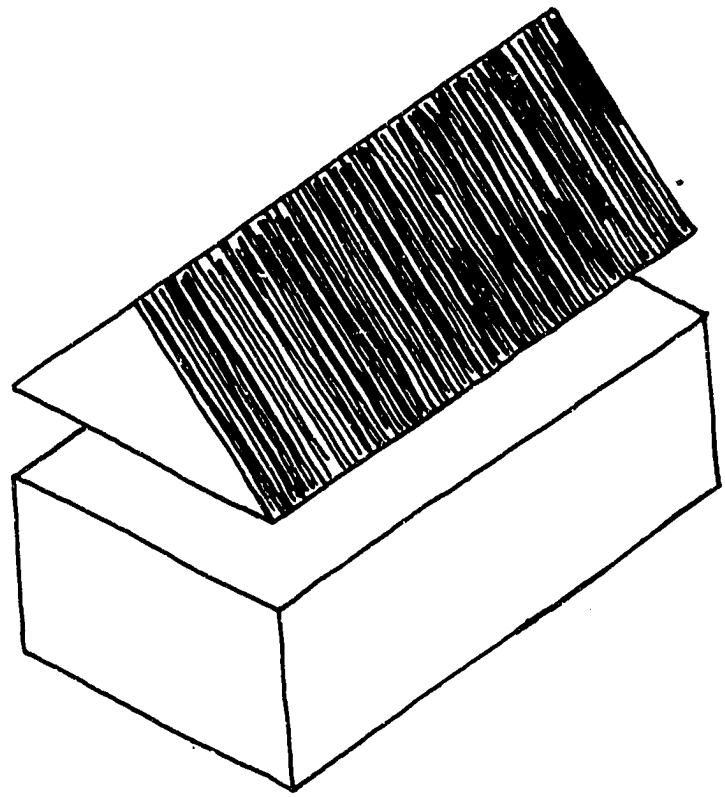


Figure 138: The two components of the house: the geometric block and the independent roof frame (After Brunskill, Illustrated Handbook of Vernacular Architecture).

first task involved laying out and giving three-dimensional form to the geometric block. Four load-bearing walls were fabricated from a variety of materials to produce the basic rectangle. The builder's second move was to top the building off by setting upon it an essentially independent roof frame consisting of paired, triangulated rafters. While supported by the walls, this roof frame was structurally separate from the basic house form and remained unaffected by the use of particular wall construction techniques or materials (figure 138).

This chapter is divided into two sections, one looking at the various materials and techniques for building the geometric block, the other

describing the principal systems for framing the roof. Because technology is often most visibly accessible in outbuildings, I have found it useful to include barns and granaries in this discussion. While certain relevant details about the various types of local outbuildings are supplied, the emphasis here remains focused upon the houses and this new evidence is introduced merely in an attempt to more illustrate clearly the general folk building patterns found in the area during the nineteenth century.

Building the Block: Materials and Methods.

Although timber was available in the many canyons that ringed the valley floor, it was not found in the quantities that enabled it to become a major building material. Sawmills were quickly erected in each Sanpete Valley community, but the lumber produced by these operations was reserved for use as floor boards, roof frames, and other necessarily wooden elements of the house rather than for the main walls themselves. The relative scarcity of wood also made it expensive and thus for both practical and economical reasons, masonry walling was generally the rule in house building during the early years of settlement.[1]

Perhaps the most widely used wall material in the area was unfired adobe brick. These greyish clay bricks achieved their local predominance largely by default. Kiln-fired brick was generally preferred to adobe, a material that weathered poorly and that was considered dull and unattractive. Circumstances, however, conspired against the early use of fired brick. First there was the question of setting priorities for utilizing the supply of timber. The need for heating and roofing the houses came before the luxury of burning clay to build them. Second,

there were problems with the composition of the local clay. In the towns on the east side of the valley, clay deposits had a heavy lime content that required high and precisely controlled burning temperatures. Given the price of timber, it was impractical to fire bricks here until the 1880s when coal became available as a fuel.[2] A more easily processed clay was encountered along the western edge of the valley and early brickyards were established in both Wales and Fountain Green.[3] In these towns, brick generally replaced adobe as a common building material by the 1870s. Despite attempts to find suitable alteratives, adobe was attractive as a cheap and readily available resource that served as a staple for house construction throughout the valley for much of the nineteenth century.

The specific origins of Mormon adobecraft have been discussed at length elsewhere and it now seems to be generally accepted that the idea for using the large, unfired clay bricks came to the Saints from the southwestern United States, both indirectly through published emigrant guidebooks and directly through firsthand accounts by church members who served in New Mexico and California during the Mexican War.[4] It should be noted, however, that while adobe walling per se was not found in the Midwest or East, the basic technology involved in its production cannot be considered particularly exotic. To make bricks, fired or unfired, the builder had to follow certain steps: the clay had to be dug, mixed with sand and water in a pug mill, molded into bricks, and then dried. Bricks had to be dried in the sun or, depending on the climate, under some type of cover before firing because clay containing water will explode when heated.[5] Therefore, in making adobes, all that the builder acquainted with brickmaking needed to do was to leave off the final step, that of

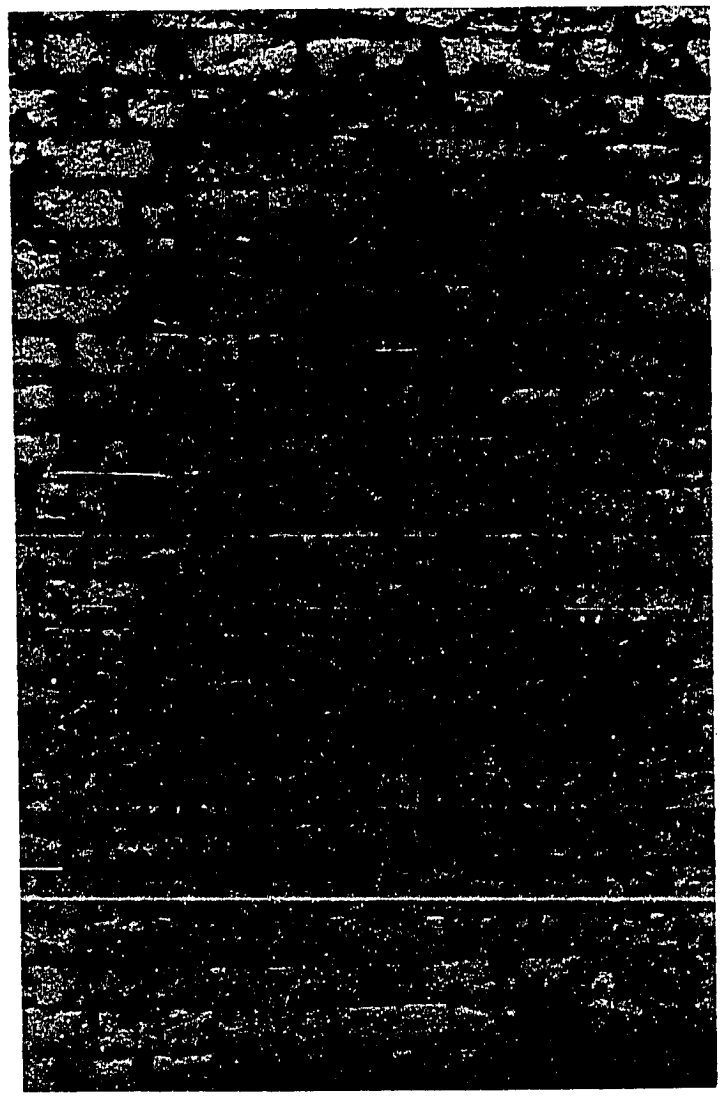


Figure 139: Common bond adobe walling, Garlic house, Fairview (see figure 36).

actually burning the bricks. The major differences then between the two brick types is that one is fired and the other is not and that the burned bricks are smaller, roughly 4 x 8 inches in size (length and width), compared to the larger adobes which in Utah are usually about 5 x 11 inches.[6] No signficant technological retooling was therefore necessary

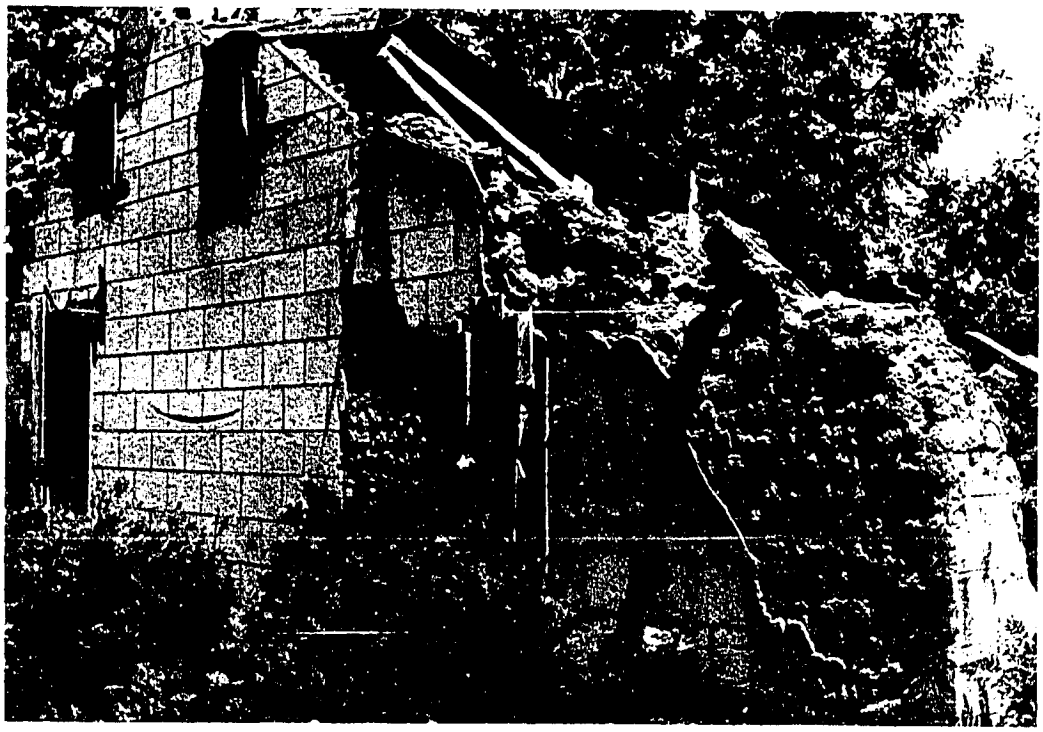


Figure 140: Simulated stone plaster veneer over adobe, Christian Michelsen house, Spring City, c.1875.

for American Mormons in their switch over to adobe. For the majority of the Scandinavian immigrants, the transition to adobe was even easier. Unfired brick, called "lertegel" or "clay brick" in Swedish, was a common traditional material for infilling half-timbered buildings throughout Denmark and southern Sweden during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; these Scandinavians, while not responsible for introducing the adobe technique to Utah, undoubtedly helped refine the practice in the years after 1853 when they began arriving in sizeable numbers.[7]

Adobe was made in the valley either on the homestead lot itself or at one of the many adobeyards that quickly sprang up in every community. Like other types of brick, adobes must be laid up in such a way that they overlap or "bond" with each other to insure the stability of the wall.[8]

The usual method of bonding adobe was similar to what is called "common bond" in regular brick walls. In this system five to seven rows, or courses, of "stretcher" bricks (bricks with their long faces showing) were alternated with one course of "headers" (the short end showing). The headers overlapped the bricks in the stretcher courses thereby securing, or bonding, the wall.[9] Adobe walls were typically one header and two stretchers deep, making the walls about 11-12 inches thick (figure 139).

While adobe was inexpensive and easily produced, there are signs that it was never completely integrated into the Sanpete Valley building tradition for it had both functional and aesthetic deficiencies. Lacking the hard protective glaze of burned brick, adobe was particularly susceptible to the ravages of weather and deteriorated rapidly if exposed to water. Also, its dull, earthern appearance remained incompatible with the prevailing architectural aesthetic which favored smooth, artificial wall surfaces. Both defects were remedied through the application of a coat of plaster. This practice shielded the soft brick from the debilitating effects of the rain and cold and because the plaster was often scored and painted to resemble either brick or stone, it also lent the house an aura of social respectability (figure 140).[10] By the 1870s, many adobe houses in the valley displayed decorative veneered exteriors.

Stone was another popular early Sanpete Valley building material. A cream-colored oolitic limestone was discovered that, while softer and more porous than the famous oolite stone found near Bedford, Indiana, nonetheless proved ideal for the Saints' building needs.[11] Like adobe, the attraction of stone initially lay in its accessibility and major quarries were established at Manti, Ephraim, Spring City, and Fairview.

Figure 141: Rubble stone wall, Johnson house, Ephraim (figure 53)

Stone as a walling material is generally confined to these four towns though it was transported throughout the valley for use in the foundations of houses and other buildings.

Several principal methods were locally employed for laying up stone walls.[12] The most fashionable and expensive bonding technique is called "ashlar" masonry. Ashlar walls are effected by cutting the stones into

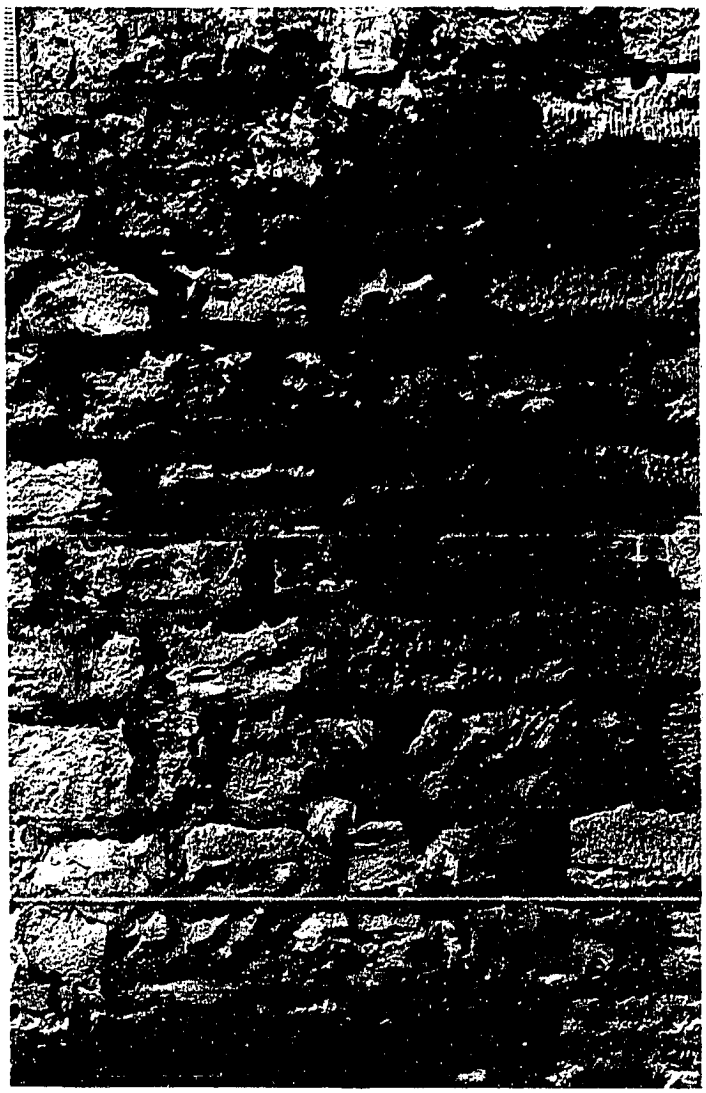


Figure 142: Rubble stone wall with scored mortar joints, Spring City.

precise rectangles which are laid into evenly rising horizontal courses. Ashlar walls are found on some of the larger, more prestigious houses in the valley (see figure 15), but it was more common for masons here to use the stone in the irregular form that it came from the quarry. Such stone walling is known as "rubble" masonry and exists in two styles. The first is called "random rubble" walling and consists of unevenly shaped and

sized stones that are laid up in an indiscriminate fashion. Such stonework is rare in the Sanpete Valley area (figure 141) and is often found on the earliest houses. The other type of rubble masonry is "coursed rubble." In this technique one finds some effort being expended to shape the stones so they will "bed" horizontally into courses. Coursed rubble walls are the most frequently encountered type in the area and are usually found with the joints filled with a surfeit of mortar which is then smoothed into an almost plaster-like finish. This overlay of mortar obscures the irregularities of the rubble stone and, in an additional attempt to achieve visual regularity, Sanpete masons often added scored lines or raised mortar joints to approximate the geometrical appearance of coursed ashlar.

As mentioned earlier, the most highly valued building material in the valley during the nineteenth century was kiln-fired brick.[13] The first brick houses that surfaced here were constructed in the middle 1860s for what might be called the local elite. The Canute Petersen house in Ephraim (figure 115), finished around 1867, is a case in point. Petersen was president of the South Sanpete Stake of Zion and his large brick house surely was commensurate with his status in the community. The brick was probably burned on or near the property.

The first widespread use of brick occurred after 1870 in the towns on the west side of the valley. Here the clay contained amounts of ferric oxide and burned at a moderate temperature to produce the distinctive red bricks that are found primarily in Wales and Fountain Green (see figures 96 and 106).[14] By the 1880s a large brickyard was in operation at Manti. The bricks produced in Manti were a yellowish brown color due to the presence of lime in the clay found here (figure 104).[15] Smaller

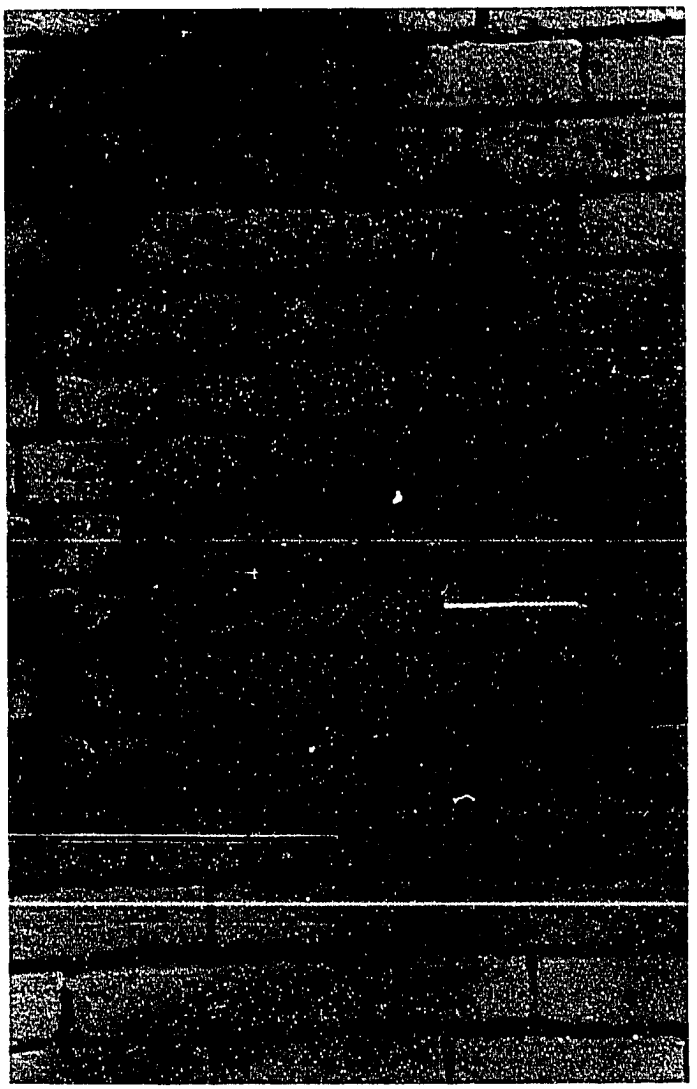


Figure 143: Common bond brick walling, Manti, c.1875.

brickyards were eventually opened in Spring City and Mount Pleasant, but it appears that the Manti enterprise was responsible for much of the brick used along the eastern valley after 1890.

Brick walls were generally of the common bond variety (figure 143). Five to seven rows of stretchers was the norm and, as with adobe, the walls were one brick header deep with the result that brick houses in the

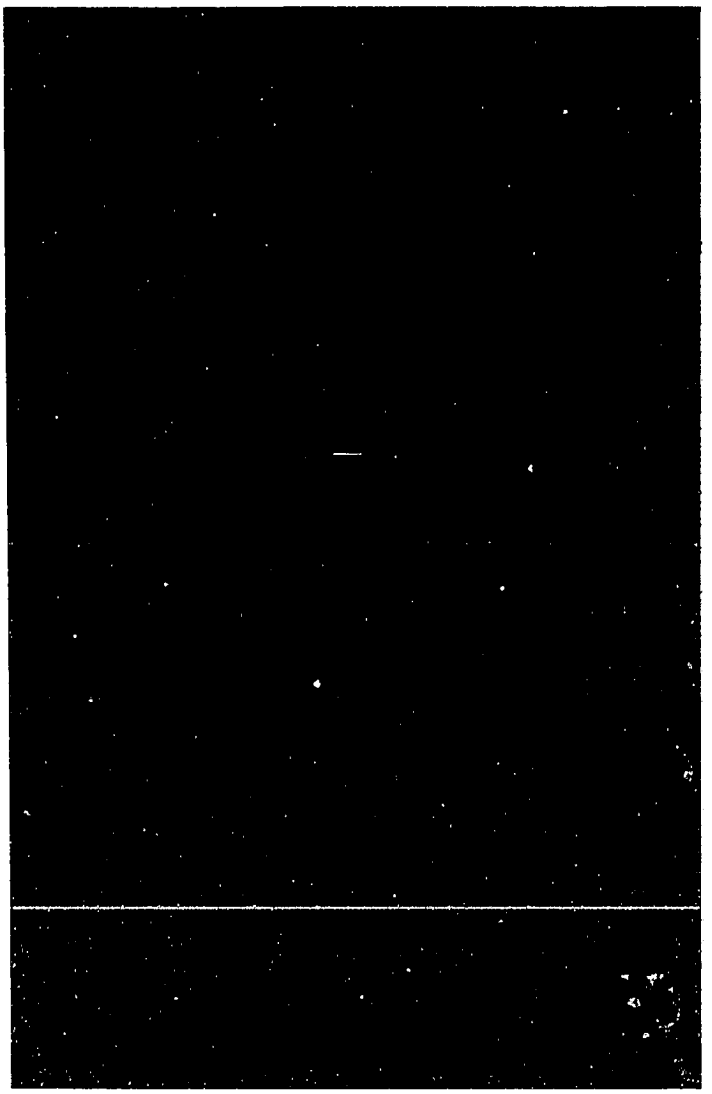


Figure 144: Flemish bond brick walling, Llewelyn house, Fountain Green.

valley have about 8" thick walls. Several of the larger houses were furnished with decorative "Flemish bond" principal facades (figure 144). In this walling technique, stretchers and headers were alternated in each course and then the bricks arranged so that the each header was centered directly over a stretcher in the course below.[16] Typically, Flemish bonding is found only on the front of the house, with the other facades

laid up in the less expensive common bond technique.

While masonry was certainly the most prevalent form of building in the valley, the use of wood was never completely abandoned. Many of the first houses were in fact built of logs[17] and even though stone and adobe soon became favored by the majority of Saints, log houses continued to be built well into the 1890s. As a rule, after the pioneering years log houses belonged to the smaller single cell plan family and were the dwellings of the less well-to-do Saints. Several Norwegian families, however, for whom horizontal log walling was a customary and dignified way of constructing a house, built larger hall-parlor timbered structures.[18] Log was also regularly used in outbuildings and a great number of nineteenth century log barns and granaries are extant in the valley today.

Two principal log building techniques were used by local carpenters. The first is recognized by the presence of gaps between the horizontal log tiers which are infilled or "chinked" with various materials such as clay, brick, and wooden slats (figures 145 and 146). The logs themselves are usually squared on the front and back and left round on the top and bottom. In this type of construction, the logs are flush at the corners and joined with either a half-dovetail (figure 146) or V-notch. For houses and granaries, the V-notch usually had squared sides, though it was often left round in barns and stables (figures 147 and 148).

The second type of Sanpete Valley horizontal log timbering is characterized by tightly fitted, grooved walls with no chinking (figure 149). The grooved walls were made by tracing the top side contour of a log onto the bottom of the log in the tier directly above. Both sides were traced and then hewn with an axe or adz to produce a long groove along the bottom length of the log. The top of the lower log was then

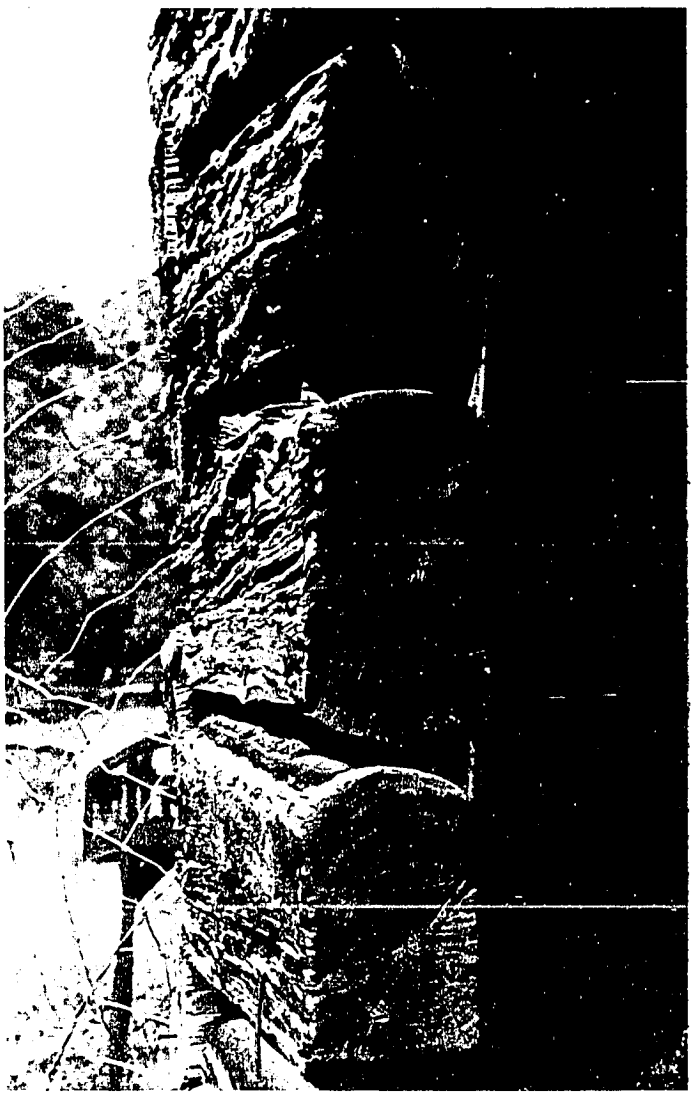


Figure 145: Log wall section, Behunnin house, Spring City, c.1870. The Behunnin house is a typical example of American Anglo-Germanic log construction. The logs are hewn flat on the front and back, the top and bottom have been left round, and the gaps between the logs filled with chinking.

fitted into this groove to produce a snug, gapless joint. Several distinctive types of corner notches are associated with structures which have fitted walls, most notably the full dovetail notch (figure 150), the double notch (figure 151), and the tongue notch (figure 152).

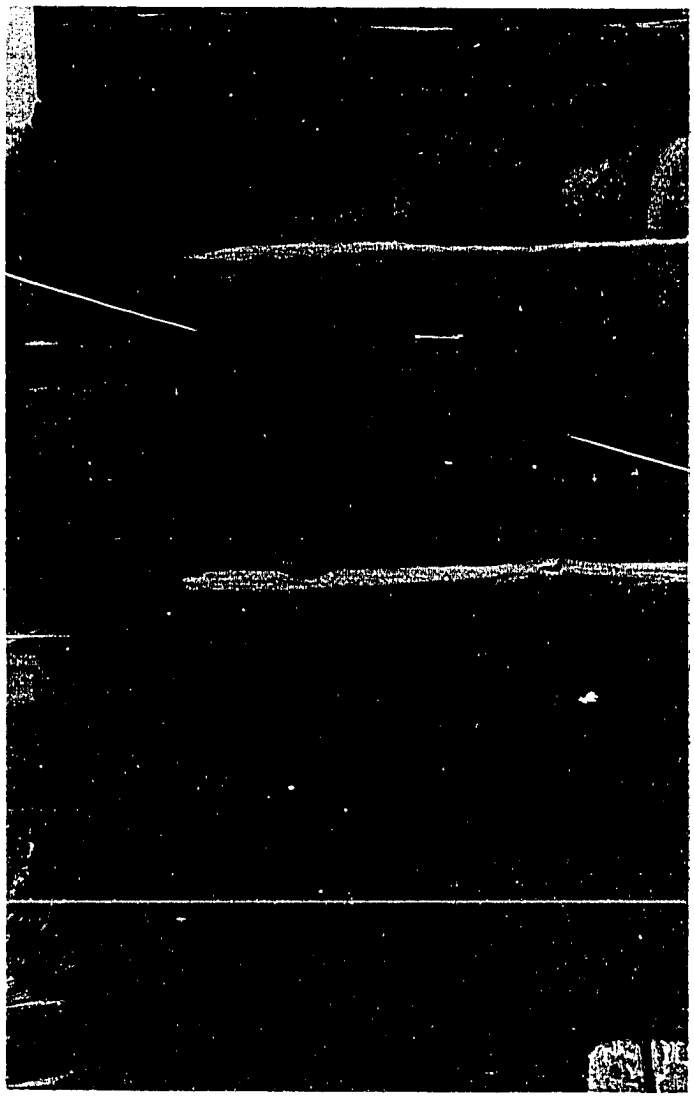


Figure 146: Half dovetail corner timbering, Behunnin house, Spring City. The logs have been hewn flat with a broad axe and the interstices filled with soft local bricks.

These two different Sanpete Valley log building systems represent the major horizontal timbering traditions found in the United States during the nineteenth century. The chinked log technique and its accompanying corner timbering types, dovetailing and half-dovetailing, was introduced into the American colonies during the eighteenth century by German

Figure 147: V notch with the logs left round in a barn, Spring City.

speaking peoples from Central Europe.[19] English and Scots-Irish settlers adopted this technique for house building in the heavily forested Mid-Atlantic region and, along with the Germans themselves, carried it westward into the Midwest and South where it generally became synonymous

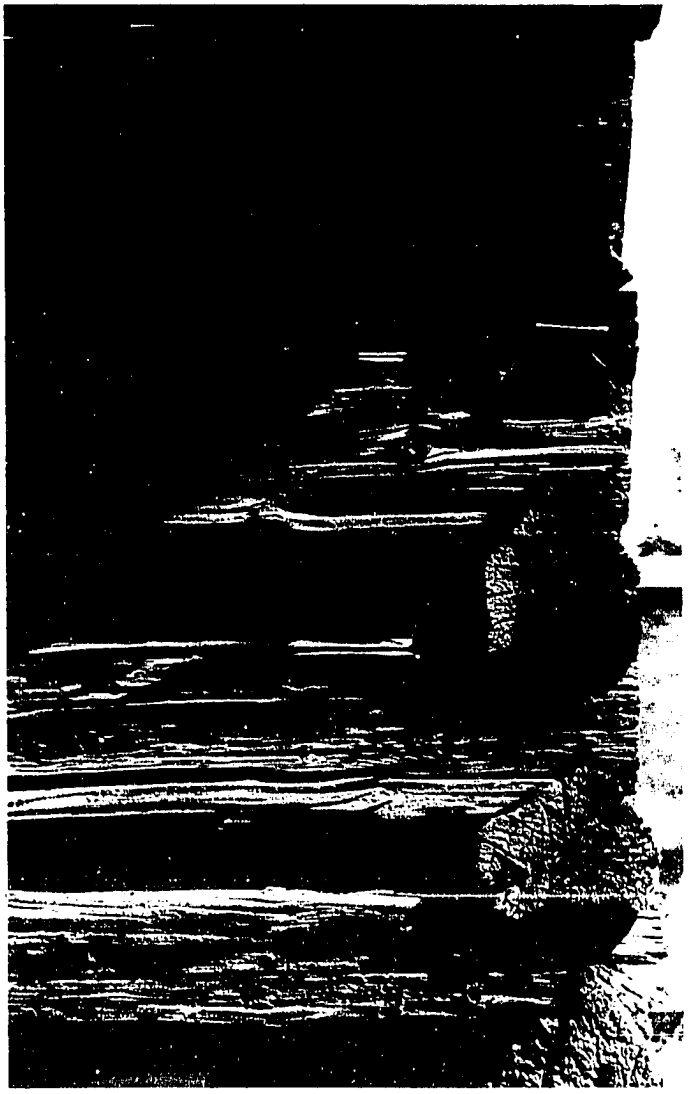


Figure 148: V notch with logs squared on the sides and the gaps filled with wood and clay on a small XY^2 house, Spring City, c.1880.

with American frontier architecture.[20] The Mormons built with logs in western New York and Pennsylvania,[21] Missouri,[22] Nauvoo,[23] and in all parts of the Far West.[24]

Contrasting with this Anglo-Germanic, American log tradition are those

Figure 149: Grooved wall section from the Neils Peter Ostensen house, Fairview, c.1870.

structures that have tightly fitted walls. This way of working logs is primarily found in Finland, north and central Sweden, and Norway and those areas settled by immigrants from these countries.[25] The double notch

Figure 150: Full dovetail notch and grooved wall timbering on an outbuilding in Fairview, c.1860-1865.

and the tongue notch are typically Scandinavian methods of corner timbering..[26] The full dovetail notch is found in both Northern and Central European traditions, but by the mid-nineteenth century it was

Figure 151: Double notch with walls fitted but not grooved on a granary in Ephraim, c.1860. The double notch, so called because it is notched on both upper and lower sides, is a common Scandinavian corner timbering type that is encountered only rarely in Utah.

primarily associated with Scandinavian builders.[27] Scandinavian log architecture first appeared in the American colonies at New Sweden in the Delaware Valley during the mid-seventeenth century. Although it actually

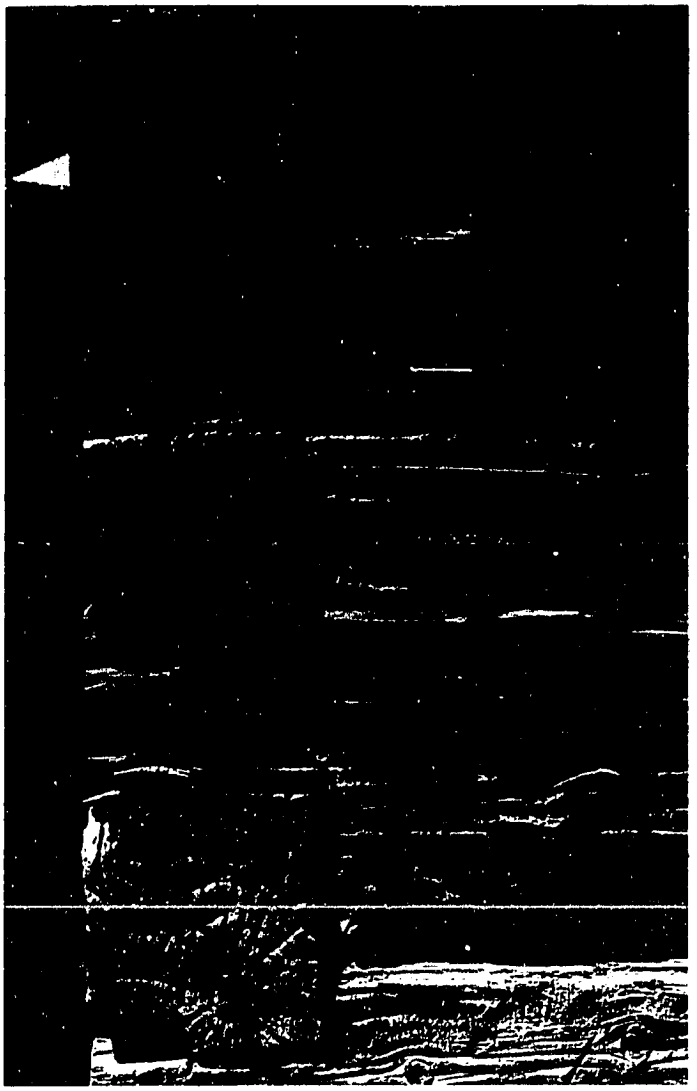


Figure 152: Tongue notch corner timbering on an Ephraim granary, c.1860-1870. The tongue notch is characterized by an internally interlocking dovetail joint that is invisible from the outside. The tongue or tooth which projects from the bottom of the otherwide square notch is dovetailed into the top of the log just below it. This notch is found in Finland, Sweden, and Norwary, but nowhere as a common form, particularly during the nineteenth century when the full dovetail notch gained supremancy throughout much of the Scandinavian region. In the United States, the tongue notch has been recorded in Wisconisn and Minnesota.

predated the arrival of Germanic forms, the North European log technique did not spread outside New Sweden.[28] It has been suggested recently that certain notch types, particularly the V notch, could possibly be a Germanic adaptation of primitive colonial Fenno-Swedish forms.[29] If such was the case, and the intensive type of European field research needed to firmly establish the folk origins of particular log working techniques has not yet been accomplished, the question has little relevance to this study. What is important here is that by the eighteenth century a distinctive log building tradition had emerged that was generally based upon a central European chinked wall model and that it was this type of horizontal log construction that by the nineteenth century had diffused throughout the country.[30] Not until the mid-nineteenth century was the North European fitted walling technique reintroduced by Scandinavian immigrants into the upper Midwest where it is primarily found today in areas of Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan.[31] As a more recent immigrant tradition, the North European technique is confined to pockets of Norwegian, Finnish, and Swedish ethnic settlement.

Building in wood in the Sanpete Valley was not confined to log. Several types of frame construction were employed as well, though not in substantial numbers until after about 1880 when lumber became cheaper and more expendable. The most common type of wall framing in the valley is the balloon frame, where the walls of the house are built of light studs nailed to the sill and plate and held together by some type of horizontal siding (see for example figures 40 and 71).[32] Such light wall frames were often infilled with adobe for insulation purposes and "drop" or "novelty" siding was the most widely used covering fabric. Balloon framing replaced an earlier type of frame construction that consisted of

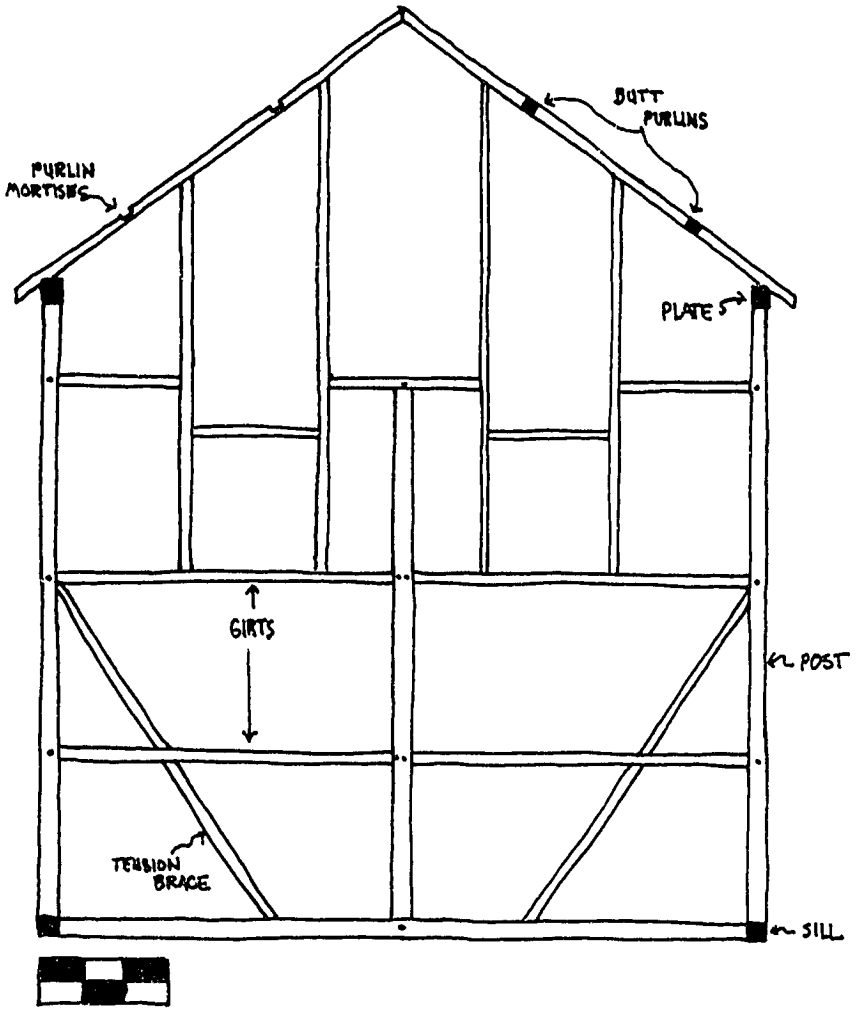


Figure 153: End wall section of the Jewkes house, Fountain Green. (After a drawing by Tim Maxwell, architect, Pioneer Trails State Park.)

larger posts and beams. This type of framing--usually called "box framing"--was the typical English framing tradition found in New England and the upper midwest in nineteenth century.[33] In the Sanpete Valley, heavy timbered box framing is curiously isolated to the town of Fountain Green.

The best example of this early form of wall framing is the Samuel

Jewkes house in Fountain Green (figure 153).[34] Jewkes was born in Staffordshire, England, and lived for a time in Birmingham before emigrating to the United States where he converted to Mormonism. Locating in several Utah communities before arriving in Fountain Green in the early 1860s, Jewkes erected this frame house in the 1867-1870 period. The house has four principal corner posts which rest on a ground sill and are connected in the middle by several tie beams, or girts, and at the top by the plate to which the rafters are attached. On the end walls, there is a center post as well and the upper girt is interrupted by the studs that frame the small second story windows. Tension braces run from the corner posts to the sills and all major structural members are secured by mortise and tenon joints. In such construction, smaller studs are often found at close intervals between the posts. On the Jewkes house, however, studs were only used for framing the wall openings and their stabilizing function was replaced by vertical planking that covered the frame and to which the horizontal clapboard siding was nailed.

In addition to the Jewkes house, several large frame barns are found in Fountain Green (figure 154). These barns conform to the three-bay English barn type found in New England, Upstate New York, and the Upper Midwest.[35] The barns have a distinctive asymmetrical appearance with a smaller side bay containing the stable while the larger bay served for hay storage (figure 155). The framing on the barns differs little from that found on the smaller Jewkes house except that closely spaced vertical studs run from plate to sill along the walls and it is to these studs that the clapboards are nailed (see figure 156 and 157). Although apparently restricted to the Fountain Green area, box framing remains an important English/New England cultural contribution to the local architectual

Figure 154: English barn, Fountain Green, 4-6, c.1870-1875. Notice the vertical studs on the end wall under the clapboard siding.

landscape.

One type of immigrant building that fails to show up in the Sanpete Valley is Danish half-timbering.[36] In this type of wall construction, the heavy box frame is infilled with unfired brick or woven willows packed with clay (wattle and daub). Half-timbering was the typical framing method in both Denmark and southern Sweden during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, though its use appears to have been declining in rural areas by the middle of the nineteenth century as brick everywhere became the most popular walling material.[37] It seems likely that Danish

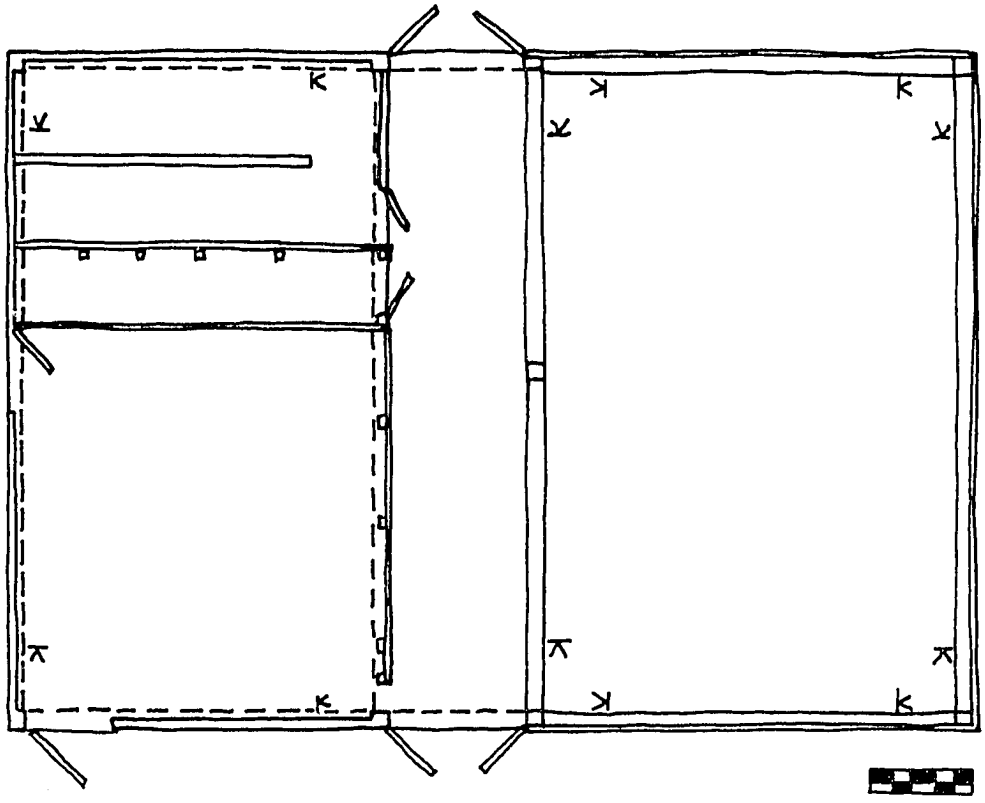
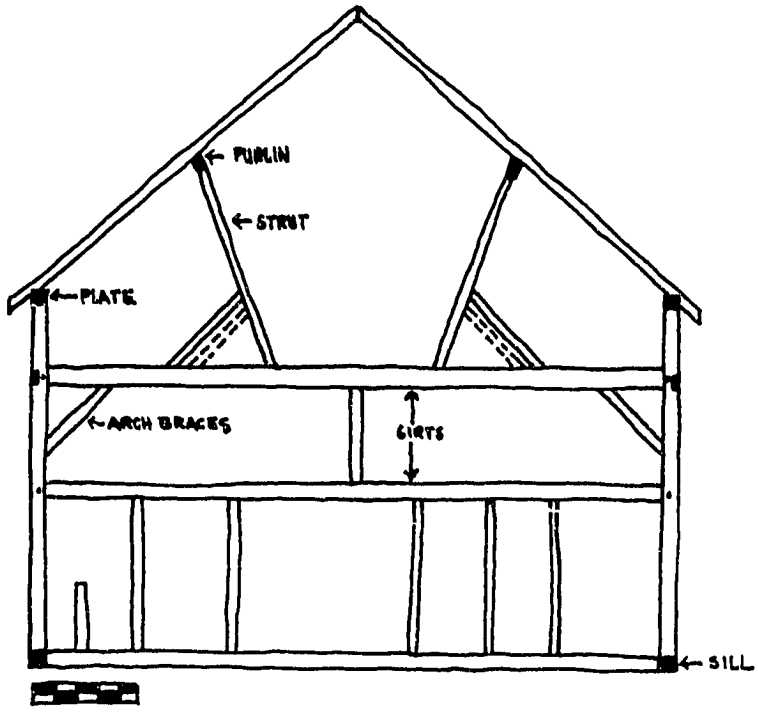


Figure 155: Floorplan of Fountain Green barn 4-6. The arrows indicate bracing, tension braces, and angle braces (braces running upward from the post to the girt above. The dotted lines here indicate the sill under the flooring which covers the central passage/threshing floor and the side stable (5/15/83).

immigrants, as they did with the house types themselves, carried to Utah the most contemporary building traditions found in their European homeland.



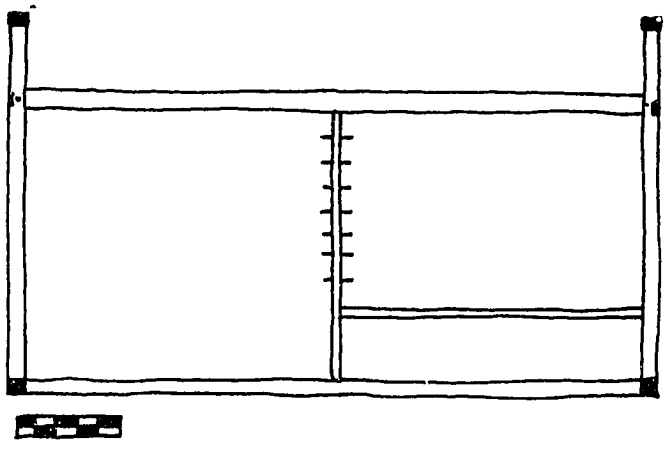


Figure 156: Middle bents on barn 4-6, Fountain Green.

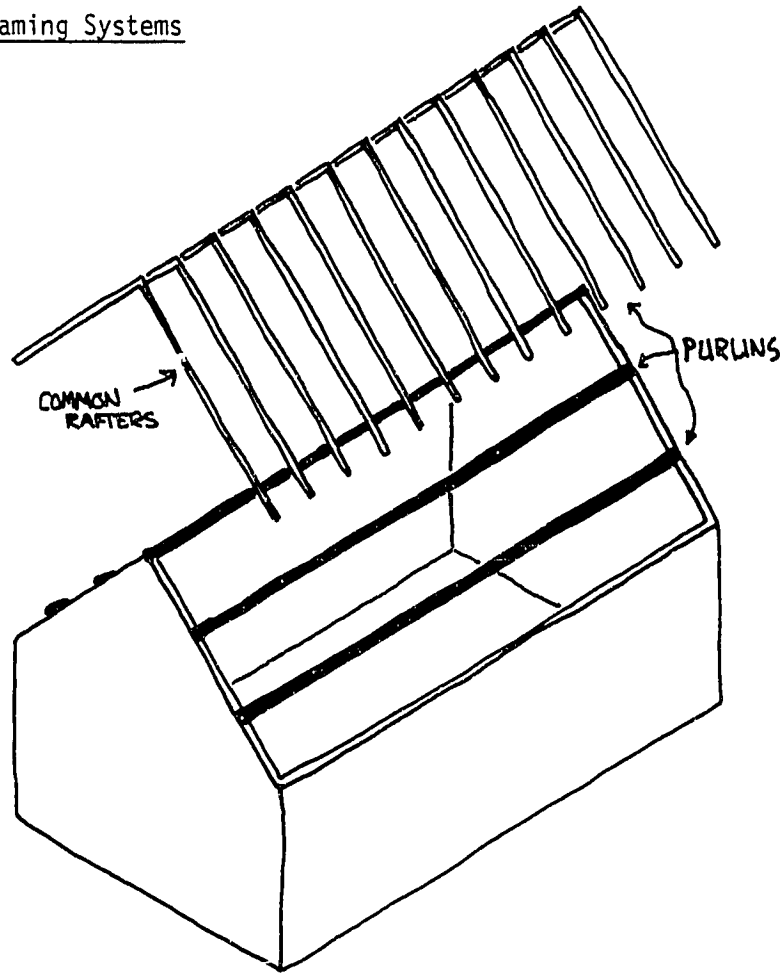


Figure 157: Purlin system for supporting the common rafter roof.

The basic roof framing system in the valley before 1890 was a simple common rafter gable roof. (In a common rafter roof, all the rafters are the same size.) There were alternative roof shapes, including the hip (figure 97) and the pyramid (figure 114), but generally the gable roof consisting of paired triangulated rafters resting on the house walls was the rule. Two different methods of supporting the roof were used. In the first, the roof was carried by heavy horizontal purlins running parallel to the ridge (figure 157). The weight of the roof was transferred to the

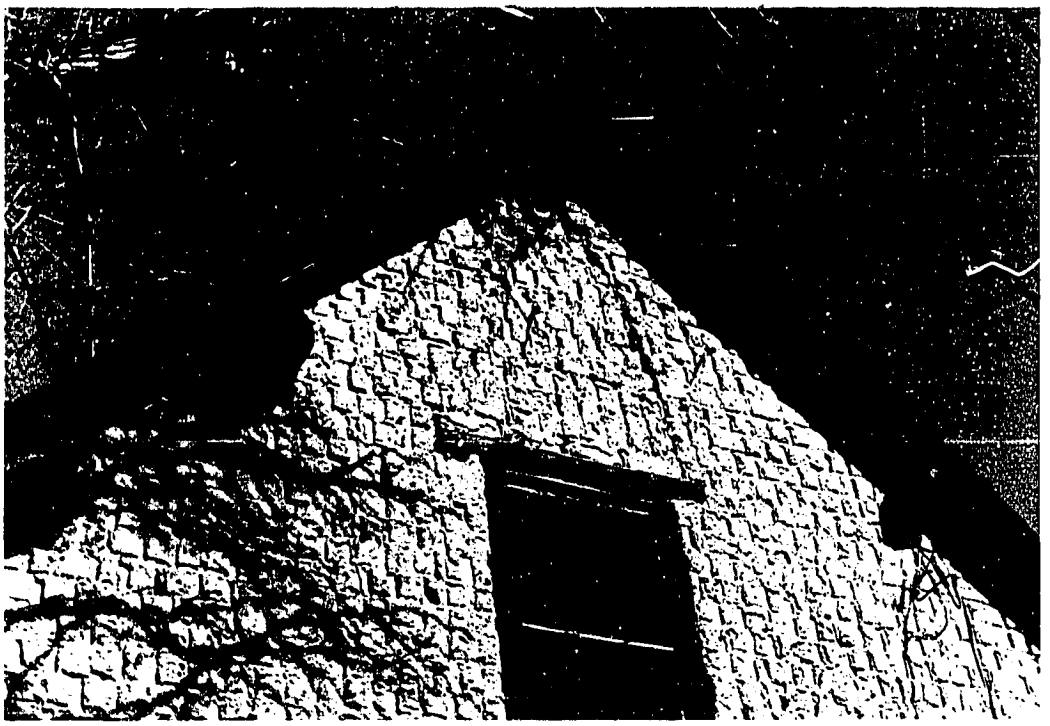


Figure 158: Purlin rafters protruding from the end of the Ole Swensen house (see figure 64), Manti. This view illustrates the basic components of the purlin system.

geometric block by building up the end walls into the apex of the gable to support the purlins. Once this structure was in place, the rafters, running from plate to ridge, were placed across the purlins. The roof was then finished by adding horizontal sheeting boards to which the shingles were nailed (figure 158). In most cases, the length of the house required the purlins to be supported in the middle. This underpining was supplied by internal walls that bore the weight of the roof. These walls were either built all the way to the apex in houses with finished second storys

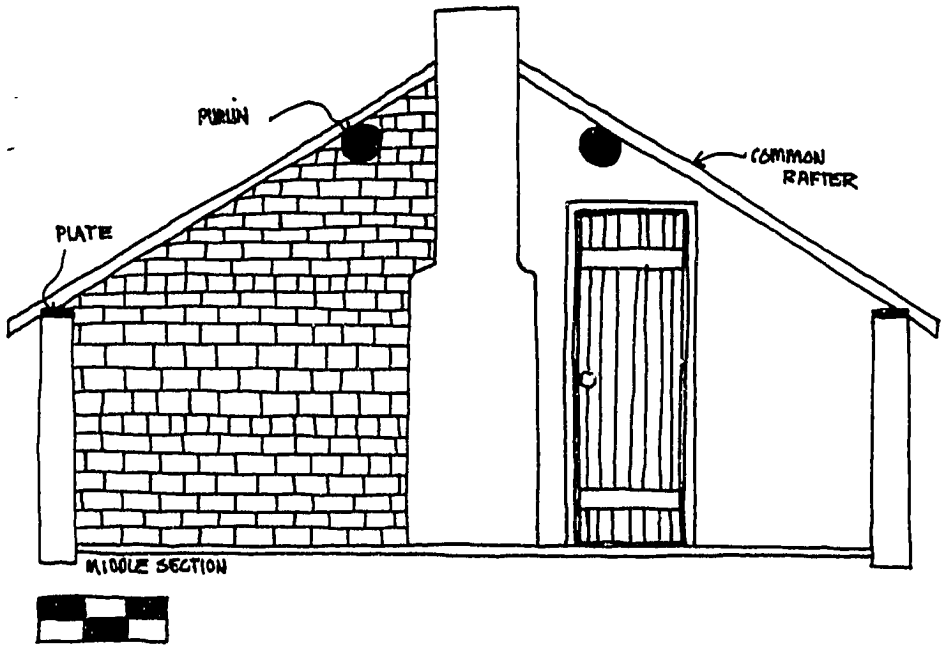


Figure 159: Internal load-bearing wall, Sorensen house, Ephraim (see figure 127).

(figure 159), or only partially, just to the level of the purlins (figure 160).

One unusual means of supporting the purlins is found in a large barn in Ephraim (figure 161). This barn, built during the 1860s by a Danish immigrant, Erasmus Jensen, is typical of many early barns constructed in the valley. It has a long rectangular plan and is divided into two levels. The bottom area was used for stabling animals and the upper loft was the hay mow (see also figure 164).[38] The roof is the purlin type but rather than having an internal, purlin-bearing wall, the Jensen barn has a heavy frame truss (figure 162). This truss is called an "upper cruck" and grows out of a Medieval framing tradition where inclined

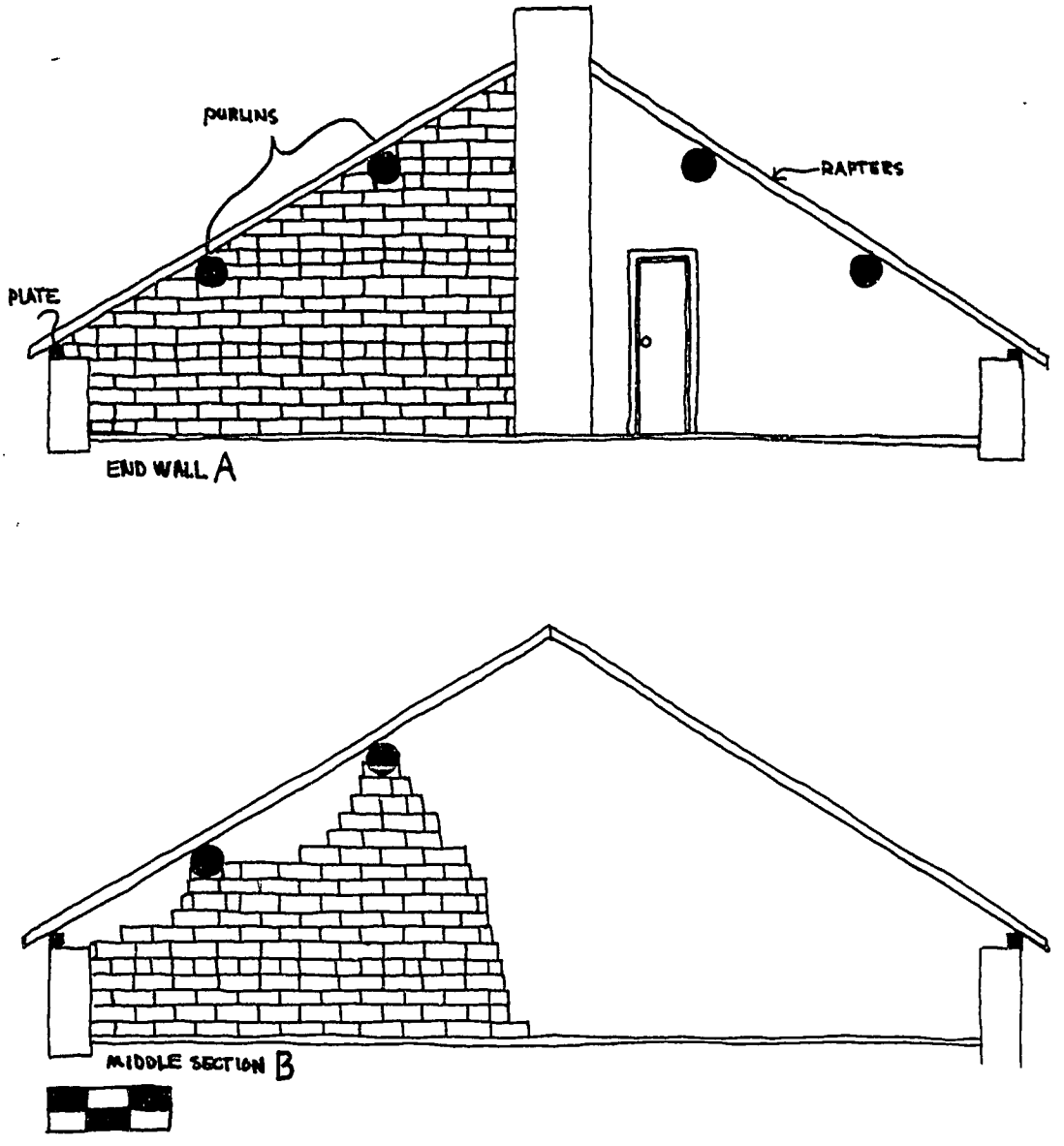
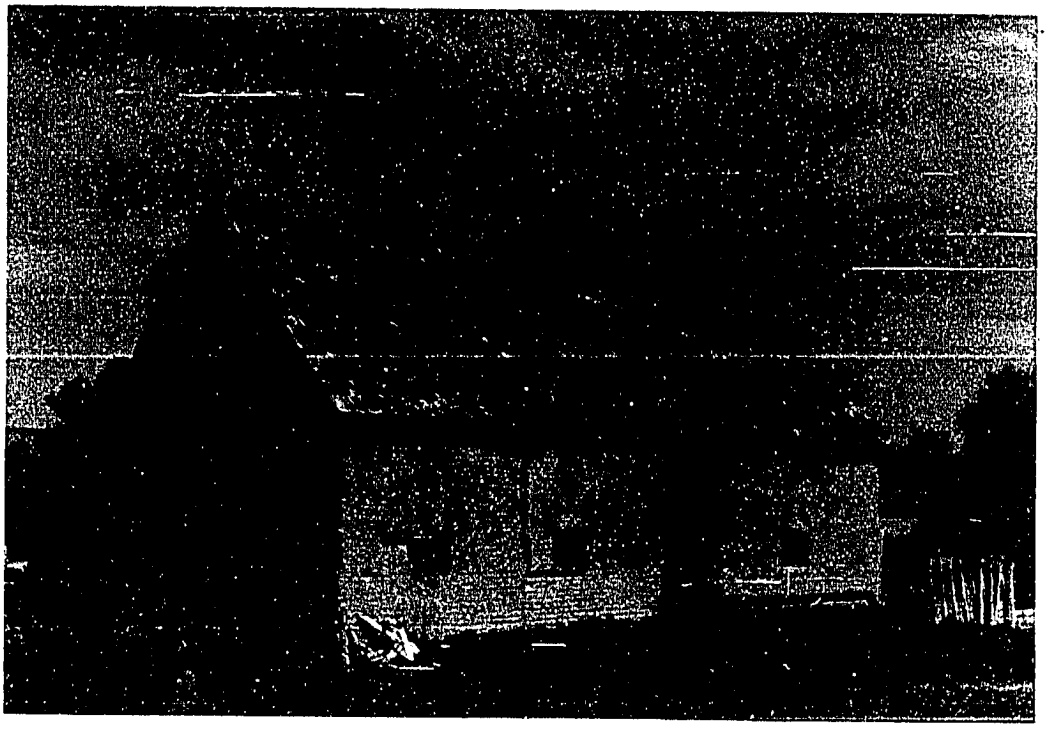


Figure 160: Purlin roof framing in the Christian Nielson house, Spring City (see figure 92). The upper drawing (A) shows the end wall while the lower one (B) represents the internal purlin-bearing wall.



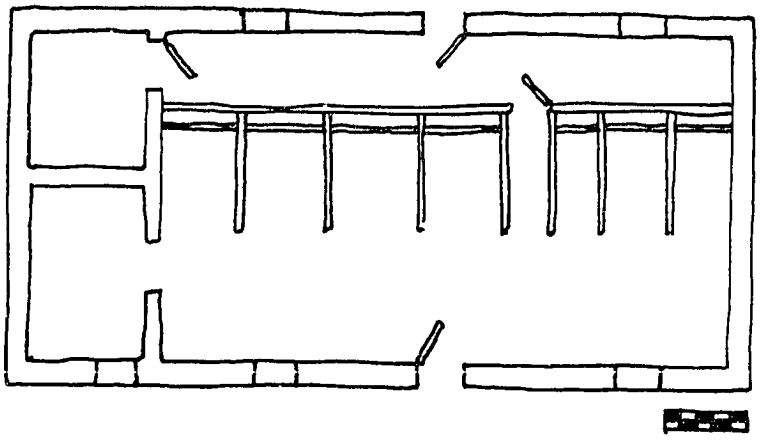


Figure 161: Elevation and floorplan of the Erasmus Jensen barn, Ephraim, 2-5, c.1865-1875.

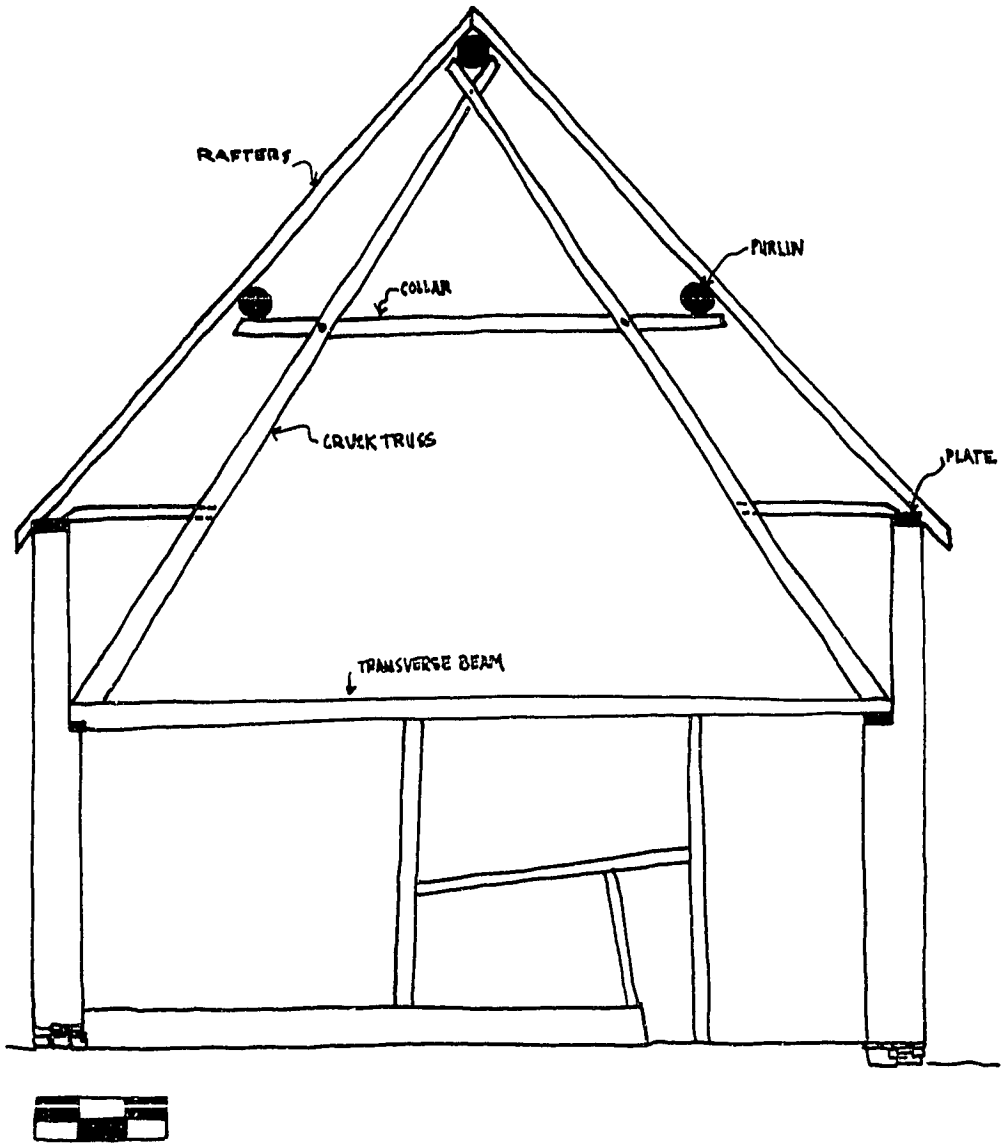


Figure 162: Upper Cruck truss, Jensen Barn, Eprhaim.

timbers, or "crucks" ran from the ground to apex serving as an internal skeleton for the building.[39] True cruck trusses may be viewed as a type of inner house, over which the the walls and roof hang as a curtain. As houses during the Post Medieval period became storied, it was more common to find builders using only the upper part of the cruck and resting the blades on a tie beam at or just below the eaves level.[40] The upper cruck type of truss depends upon the outside walls for support and thus while distinctive, resembles the other framing systems found in the valley. The essential difference is that the roof contains a double framing system.[41]

Crucks and cruck-like trusses are not found in Denmark[42] but are common in the upper cruck form in Northern Germany, particularly in the South Schleswig region. This area belonged to Denmark until 1864 and since upper crucks have been documented there which are almost identical to the Jensen barn truss, it seems certain that this roof frame represents an important immigrant tradition in the Sanpete Valley.[43]

Purlin type roof framing systems are usually associated with northern Europe and are the principal roof form found in Norway and Sweden.[44] The presence of such roofs in the Sanpete Valley, though undoubtedly reinforced by this ethnic connection, cannot be explained as a transplantation of Scandinavian tradition. Purlin systems are not found in Denmark or the other source areas of local settlers and probably result more from their basic practicality than from any single immigrant influence. Purlins are essentially logs and require little preparation. They reduce the number of rafters needed and also add strength to inferior rafter materials. For these reasons they are often associated with frontier construction and in fact are sometimes referred to as "western"

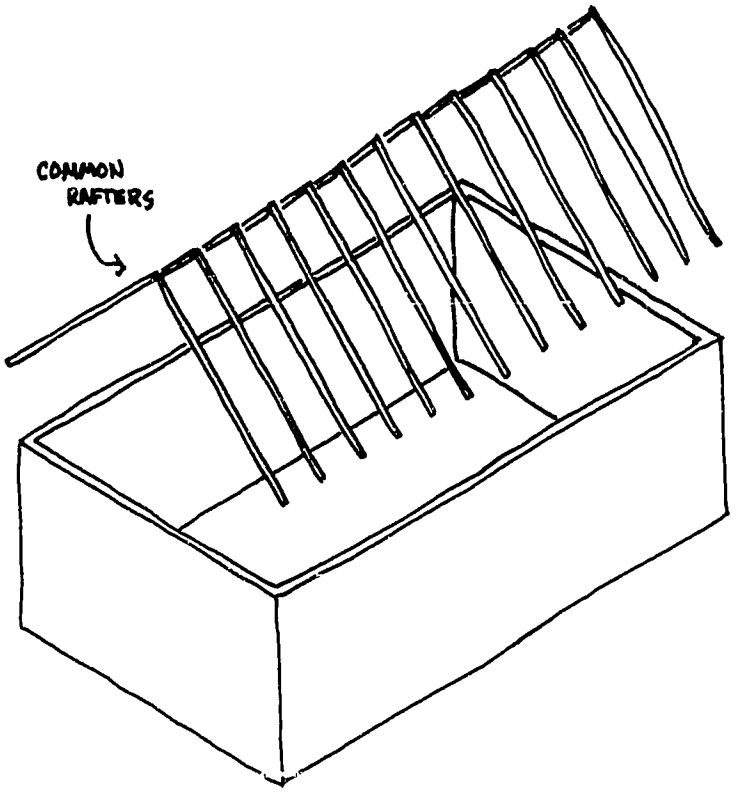


Figure 163: Common rafter roof framing system.

roofs.[45]

The second major roof framing system is the common rafter roof. In this type of construction, the bearing walls are the side walls and the rafters rest on the plate rather than on purlins running from the gable ends (figure 163).[46] The rafters may carry purlins (figure 153), especially in the larger buildings (figures 156 and 164), but generally they are free standing and rest against each other at the apex and attached to the house only at the plate. The triangulated pair may be strengthed with collar beams (figure 165), but it is more common to find

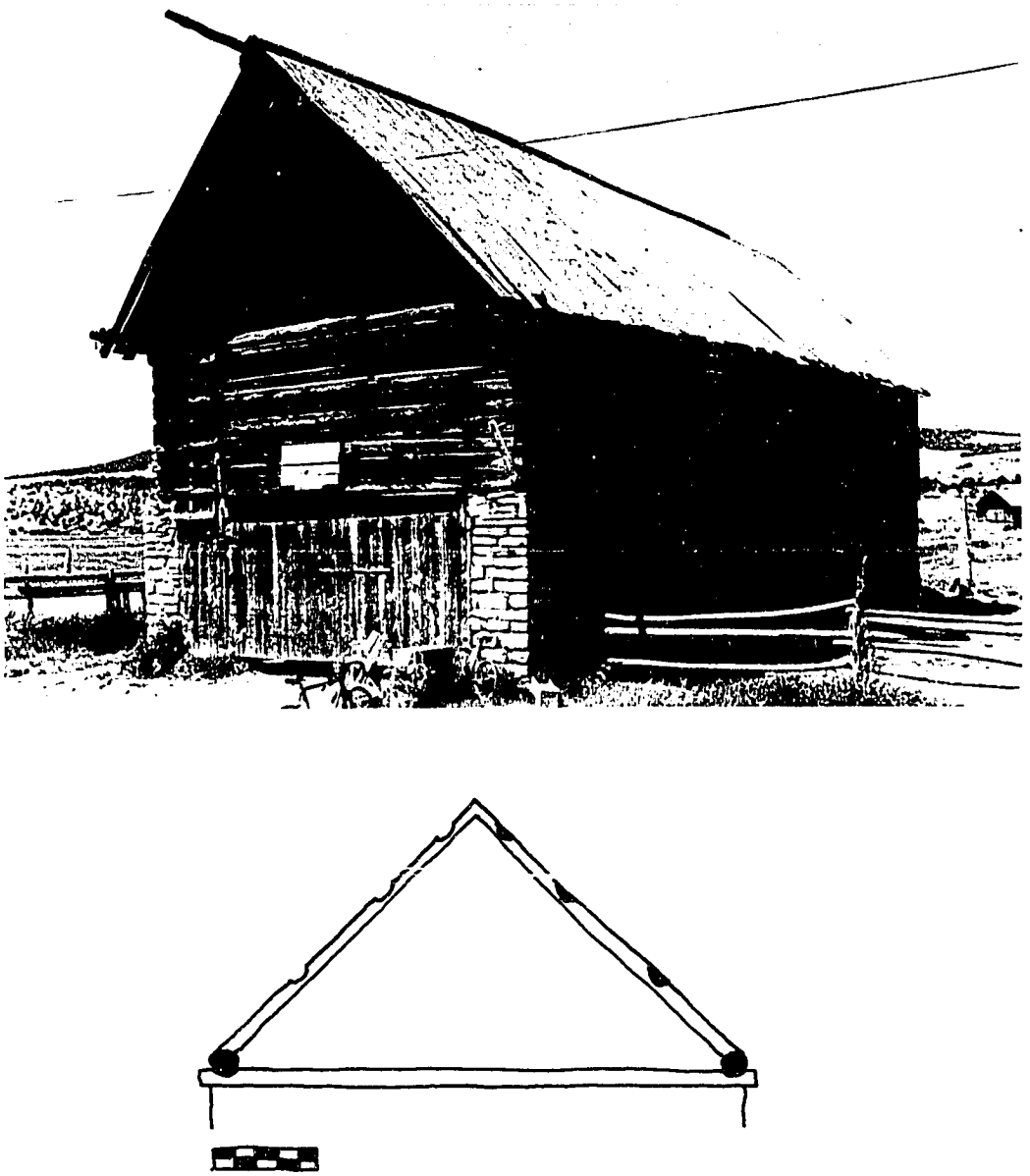


Figure 164: Ostensen barn, Fairview, 4-13, c. 1870. The common rafters on the Ostensen barn are set into the log plate, carry half-round purlins on their backs, board roof was never shingled, typical Sanpete style for barns.

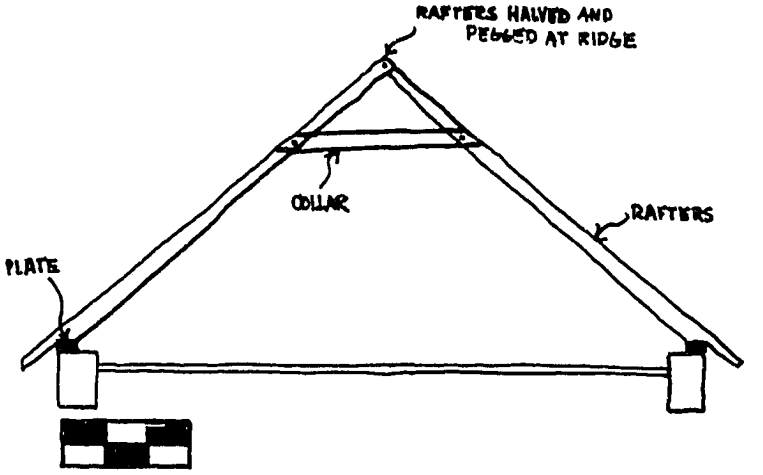


Figure 165: Common rafter roof with collar beam, Hans Peter Christophersen house, Spirng City, SP-17-163/7-54, c. 1870-1875.

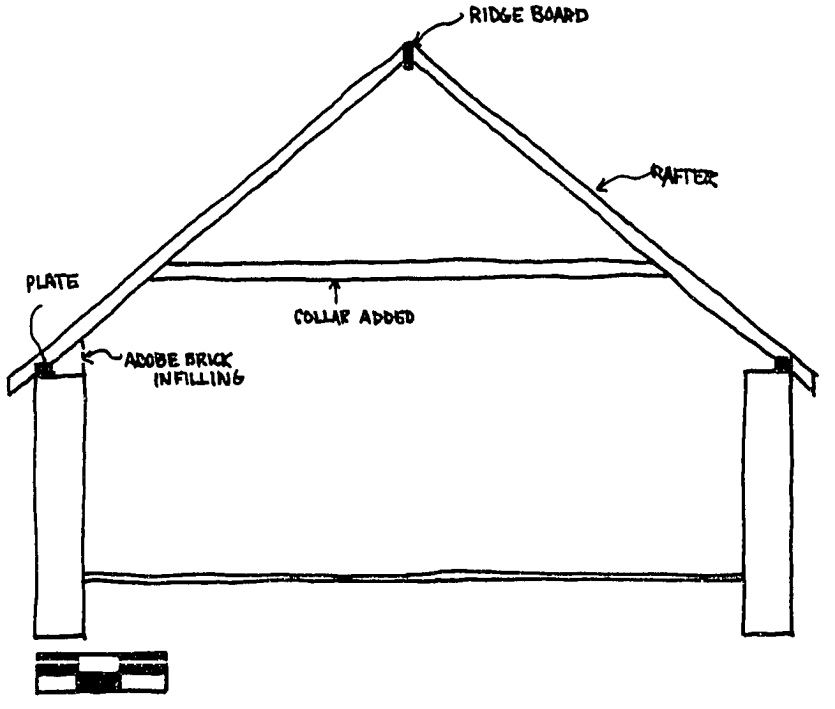


Figure 166: Common rafter roof, Marinus Petersen house, Spring City, SP-17-292/7-50, c. 1880. The collar beam was added in the 1920s. The spaces under rafters infilled with adobe to close off.

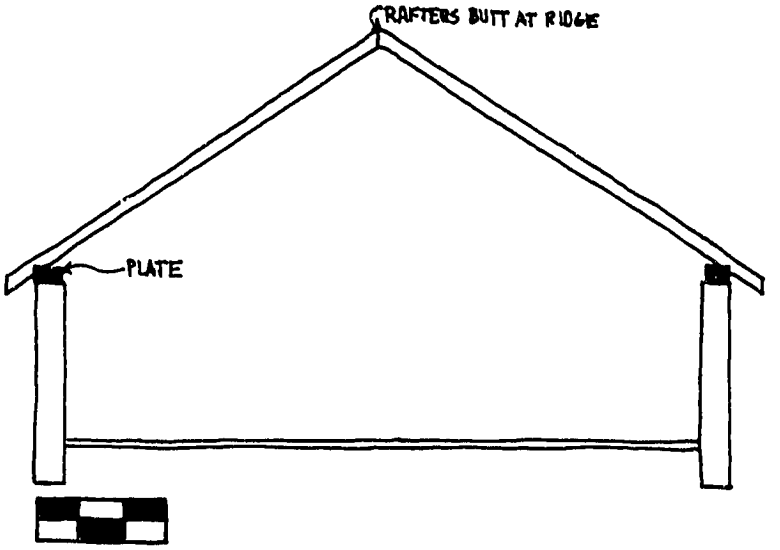


Figure 167: Common rafter roof, Roser Thomas house, Wales, 1876 (see figure 46).

them simply nailed to a common ridge board (figure 166) or butted against each other (figure 167).

The common rafter framing system was the typical form of American roof by the mid-nineteenth century. Such roofs reflect an unrelenting movement in American house building toward simpler, more cost effective and labor intensive technologies. In the eastern states, the drift toward less complicated building methods was precipitated largely by an abundance of raw materials and a shortage of labor. Dell Upton has written that in the Colonial period "changes from English framing practices to American can be characterized briefly as a tendency to use wood more freely than in

Europe, but to devise ways to minimize its preparation."[47] In the Sanpete Valley, while the builders' problem was the reverse in that there was ample labor but wood was in short supply, their solutions were generally the same. One sees in the houses here a definite progression during the late nineteenth century toward the simplification and standardization of building techniques. Whereas in the first years of settlement, adobe, stone, and timber framing were used to build the house's walls, by the 1880s brick everywhere became the common material. Also at this time the balloon frame and common rafter roof became standard, replacing older New England, Scandinavian, and Germanic traditions. This reduction in building practices was not so much the adoption of one immigrant technique as it was a move from the complex to the simple. It is ironic that the early pioneer structures, often considered expedient and primitive, are the most sophisticated in terms of their actual construction, exhibiting many different national and regional building styles and techniques.

Chapter VI
Notes

1. See Richard H. Jackson, "The Use of Adobe in the Mormon Culture Region," Journal of Cultural Geography, 1:1 (Fall/Winter 1980): 83-85, and Pitman, "Folk Housing in the Mormon Culture Region," 36.

2. For a dicussion of the chemical properties of clay and their effect on brick color and production, see Harley J. McKee, Introduction to Early American Masonry: Stone Brick, Mortar and Plaster, National Trust/Columbia University Series on the Technology of Early American Building, 1 (New York: Nation Trust for Historic Preservation, 1973), 41. See also, Jackson, "The Use of Adobe," 85.

3. Lever, History of Sanpete and Emery Counties,

4. See Jackson, "The Use of Adobe," 82-95; Pitman, "Folk Housing," 17-53; and Jonathan L. Fairbanks, "Shelter on the Frontier: Adobe Housing in Nineteenth Century, Utah," in Frontier America: The Far West (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1975), 197-209.

5. McKee, Early American Masonry, 43.

6. Ibid., 53, and Pitman, "Folk Housing," 30.

7. Minnhagen, Bondens Bostad, 40-41, and Grith Lerche, "Timber Framed Buildings in Denmark," Vernacular Architecture 4 (1973), 14.

8. McKee, Early American Masonry, 48-51.

9. Ibid., 49, Brunskill, Illustrated Handbook of Vernacular Architecture, 46-47, and Pitman, "Folk Housing," 88.

10. Carter, "Cultural Veneer," 68-77.

11. See Carl J. Christensen, Sanpete Oolite Limestone as a Building Material, Bulletin No.140 of the Utah Engineering Experiment Station (Salt Lake City: University of Utah, 1967), 3-8; Barry M. Roth, "A Geographic Study of Stone Houses in Selected Utah Communities" (Master's Thesis: Brigham Young University, 1973), 55-59; and Pitman, "Folk Housing," 91.

12. McKee, Early American Masonry, 32, and Brunskill, Illustrated Handbook, 37-41.

13. The popularity of brick as a building material during the nineteenth century is treated for England in Ronald Brunskill and Alec Clifton-Taylor, Brickwork (New York: Von Nostrand Reinhold, 1982), 40-50; for Denmark by Stoklund, "Landbygniner Indtil 1870," 82; and for southern Sweden, in Minnhagen, Bondens Bostad, 39-40.

14. McKee, Early American Masonry, 41.

15. Ibid., 41.

16. Ibid., 51, Brunskill, Illustrated Handbook, 47, and Pitman, "Folk Housing," 89.

17. For an example of an early Manti log house, see Poulson, "Folk Material Culture," 141.

18. See Carter, "North European Horizontal Log Construction," 59.

19. The German influence on American log building is established in Henry Glassie and Fred Kniffen, "Building in Wood in the Eastern United States: A Time-Place Perspective," Geographical Review, 56:1 (1966): 58-65.

20. For examples of the chinked log type of American log building, see Warren E. Roberts, "Folk Architecture," in Folklore and Folklife: An Introduction, ed. by Richard M. Dorson (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), 287-292. See also, Peter O. Wacker and Roger T. Trindell, "The Log House in New Jersey: Origins and Diffusion," Keystone Folklore Quarterly, 13:4 (Winter 1968): 248-268; Glassie, "Types of the Southern Mountain Cabin," 345-346, 350-351; Swaim, "North Carolina Folk Housing," 31; Wilbur Zelinsky, "The Log House in Georgia," Geographical Review, 43 (1953): 173-193; Jordan, Texas Log Buildings, 21-81; Donald A. Hutslar, "The Log Architecture of Ohio," Ohio History, 80 (1971): 172-271; Roberts, Log Architecture in Southern Indiana (forthcoming); and Marshall, Folk Architecture in Little Dixie, 95-98.

21. The LDS Church was officially organized in the log house of Peter Whitmer in Fayette New York in 1830. See Allen and Leonard, The Story of the Latter-day Saints, 47.

22. Allen and Leonard, The Story of the Latter-day Saints, 107.

23. There were approximately 1200 log houses at Nauvoo, see Hayden, Seven American Utopias, 119.

24. The best overview of Mormon western log building is found in Pitman, "Folk Housing," 55-78.

25. Sigurd Erixon, "The North-European Technique of Corner Timbering," Folkliv, 1 (1937), 13-44, Warren E. Roberts, "Some Comments on Log Construction in Scandinavia and the United States," in Folklore Today: A Festschrift for Richard M. Dorson, eds. Linda Degh, Henry Glassie, and Felix J. Oinas (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1976), 131-122, and Matti Kaups, "Log Architecture in America: European Antecedents in a Finnish Context," Journal of Cultural Geography, 2:1 (Fall/Winter 1981), 138-139.

26. See Erixon, "North-European Technique," 30; Karl-Olov Arnstberg,

Datering av Knuttimrade Hus i Sverige (Stokholm: Nordiska Museet, 1976), 131-133; and Kaups, "Log Architecture," 137, 145-147.

27. Arnstberg, 131-133, and Erixon, 32, 56-57.

28. See C.A. Weslager, The Log Cabin in America (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1969), 148-205.

29. Terry G. Jordan, "A Reappraisal of Fenno-Scandian Antecedents for Midland American Log Construction," Geographical Review, 73:1 (January 1983): 63-69.

30. See footnote 20.

31. See Kaups, "Log Architecture," 145-147, and Richard Perrin, Historic Wisconsin Buildings: A Survey of Pioneer Architecture, 1835-1870 (Milwaukee: Milwaukee Public Library, 1962), 9-12.

32. See Pitman, "Folk Housing," 79-82; Dell Upton, "Traditional Timber Framing," in Material Culture of the Wooden Age, ed. by Brooke Hindle (Tarrytown, N.Y.: Sleepy Hollow Press, 1981), 84-93; and Walter Field, "A Reexamination into the Invention of the Balloon Frame," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, 2:4 (1942): 3-29.

33. Upton, "Timber Framing," 41-43, Brunskill, Illustrated Handbook, 52-53.

34. Sue Ann Larsen, The Pioneer Home of Samuel Jewkes and Henry Draper (Salt Lake City: Utah State Division of Parks and Recreation, 1979).

35. For information on the origins and diffusion of the English barn type, see, Glassie, Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States, 133-137, and Glassie, "Barn Building in Otsego County, New York," 182-184.

36. Stoklund, Bondegard og Byggeskik, 28-54.

37. Stoklund, "Landbygniner Indtil 1870," 82.

38. This barn type is discussed in Carter, "North European Horizontal Log Construction," 61-62.

39. Mercer, English Vernacular Houses, 97-105.

40. Ibid., 107. Cruck framing is rare in the United States. For an early Virginia example, see Upton, "Early Vernacular Architecture in Southeastern Virginia," 103-104.

41. See Brunskill, Illustrated Handbook, 74-75, and Upton, "Timber Framing," 61.

42. Stoklund, Bondegard og Byggeskik, 37-44.

43. See Adelhart Zippelius, Das Bauernhaus Am Unteren Deutschen

Niederrhein (Wuppertal: Martini and Gruttefienm 1957), 25, 103.

44. See Erixon, Svensk Byggnadskultur. While no section in Erixon's survey of Swedish folk housing is specifically devoted to roofing, the purlin system is in evidence throughout, see for example Figure 365, 301.

45. Jordan, Texas Log Buildings, 84-85.

46. Upton, "Timber Framing," 88-90.

47. Ibid., 40.

Chapter VII

Conclusion: A Mormon Architectural Tradition

At the outset, several objectives were established for this study. The first involved testing the long-standing hypothesis of folk housing uniformity in the Mormon-settled Far West. The material record, as we have seen, speaks clearly on this subject. The architectural evidence compiled here from the Sanpete Valley reveals not only the persistence of immigrant building forms and techniques during the pioneer period, but also points to the general openness of the local designing competence itself. Within the parameters of a rigidly symmetrical folk architectural aesthetic, Sanpete Valley house carpenters enjoyed a wide range of performance options. There was no reduction in housing possibilities here to suggest the emergence of a distinctive regional or "Mormon" style of building. In fact, quite the opposite was true; the design tradition was actually expanded to accommodate the creation of essentially new housing forms as well as the perpetuation of older ones.

This pattern of architectural diversity is significant for it suggests that a fundamental rethinking of the way historians have viewed life in the nineteenth century Mormon town is in order. The Latter-day Saint nucleated community has been seen as a type of cultural "melting pot," the place where a heterogeneous collection of immigrant converts was forged into a unified body of like-minded Saints. Folk housing has consistently been employed to substantiate this Saint-making process by serving as a barometer of behavior comformity. For example, Leon

Pitman, in his early survey of Mormon folk housing, wrote that "despite ethnic differences, the same set of house form concepts was disseminated in every Mormon community because of mobility within the Mormon area, cultural isolation from the world beyond Mormondom, and a willingness among all converts to achieve a self-sustaining theocratic commonwealth through conformity to economic practices, social customs, and religious beliefs (emphasis added)."[1]

Like other scholars who have written about LDS architecture, Pitman worked from a deeply-held assumption that Mormon ethnic identity during the nineteenth century was expressed in uniform social action, i.e., building houses that looked alike. Yet had he been willing to look more closely he would have discovered in the houses, as others recently have in economic practices, social customs, and religious beliefs,[2] a surprising lack of concensus and unity. The point here, however, has not been merely to supply negative evidence--to flail away at straw men, but rather, first to describe the diversity of architectural design that actually exists in one cluster of Mormon communities and then, to try to explain why it occurred. How can the individualized designs of the houses be reconciled with the concentrated and corporate character of the town settlement pattern? If Mormon society was not the cultural monolith it has been thought to be; if town living did not in fact make all the Saints the same, it is nevertheless impossible to deny the group's internal strength and cohesion. What forces were there, to restate the question raised at the beginning of this study, that continued to foster a collective sense of group responsibility and purpose? This question moves the study toward the second and most important of its objectives, namely, finding meaning in these old houses.

A New Architectural History

Architectural design must be viewed as a dialogue between form and context; what people build is the product of a dialectic between what is individually possible and what is socially acceptable.[3] The folk designing competence that emerged in the Sanpete Valley during the nineteenth century had the capacity to generate a wide variety of house types and styles. The local house carpenter, however, could only employ those designs that remained consistent with community norms. In the end, the form of the house was governed by function, both utilitarian and social. Houses had to keep out the rain, but in their plan and appearance they also had to articulate the specific values of the society.

Mormonism is well known for is strong emphasis on order and cooperation. Arrington, Fox, and May have underscored this point in the introduction to Building the City of God:

> The Law of Consecration and Stewardship, which Joseph Smith announced in February 1831....was intended to be a major instrument in reorganizing the social and economic patterns of life among his followers. Moreover, it was to provide the model upon which all human society would be organized when the Savior returned to the latter-day Zion in Missouri. It would build unity among a people fragmented by their individualistic search for economic well-being. It would impose order upon the chaos of a society suffering from an excess of liberty. An ideal community would be prepared to administer Christ's millennial reign--a people divested of selfishness and greed, living in square-surveyed towns and villages, surrounded by productive farmlands. Order, unity, community were the supreme values of the Prophet's ideal society--values strikingly at odds with those characteristic of antebellum America.[4]

If artifacts express, as Jules David Prown suggests in his essay, "Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method," "the

beliefs--values, ideas, attitudes and assumptions--of a particular group at a given time,"[5] should we not expect the Mormons with their apparent obsession for order, to adopt a tightly controlled and uniform domestic building tradition--the architectural equivilent of the geometric and circumscribed town plan? Despite the obvious parallel, such a direct correlation between house form and culture appears not to exist. In the Sanpete Valley during the kingdom building period--those years from the area's settlement in 1849 to the issuing of the Manifesto officially halting the practice of polygamy in 1890--there is no evidence that the Saints felt compelled to define themselves as Mormons by building undifferentiated houses that in their stark uniformity validated the utopian ideals of the community. Since there was no officially prescribed or sanctioned building policy, the Saints merely built strong and attractive houses according to the fashion of the times. Efforts toward creating visible symbols of specifically Mormon values were channeled instead toward group-oriented projects. The Saints were directed by their leaders to live together in towns and were expected to contribute labor, materials, and money to the building of meetinghouses and temples. Appropriately, it is the nucleated town settlement pattern and its monumental religious architecture, not the houses, that distinguish the Mormon West from its neighboring regions.

The findings of this study make it clear that, at least in the Sanpete Valley, no single Mormon style in material culture surfaced and that there were in fact two separate and competing design traditions in operation. One, visible in the town and its ecclesiastical buildings, was decidedly Mormon, while the other, found at the level of the homestead and house, was more typically American. Such a fundamental

duality in the Mormon landscape has not been previously recognized and its implications connot be ignored. The inherent conflict between the homogeneity of the LDS town and the heterogeneity of its housing tradition is revealing for it means that the order that is clearly manifest in the town was not dependent upon conformity in other aspects of Mormon social life. That the building of the Kingdom of God was foremost in the minds of the Saints is a fact that has been consistently recognized by Mormon historians; but what has been less well understood is that this work progressed with or without orthodoxy in all things. Saints were made, that is, regardless of their willingness to build houses just like their neighbors'. Diversity in architectural design, the failure of the communitarian economic program, the persistence of immigrant folkways--these features of early Mormon life must cease to be viewed as signs of weakness in the LDS social fabric for it is evident that the sources of community strength and unity in the nineteenth century lay elsewhere. Saints were "made," not so much by what they did or did not do in their everyday lives, but through their active belief and participation in the principles of the gathering and the building of Zion. In several recent articles, the historian Jan Shipps has explored in detail the specific nature of the Saint-making process.[6]

Drawing upon a theory of social boundaries similar to that employed by Fredrik Barth in Ethnic Groups and Boundaries,[7] Professor Shipps recognizes that one of the principal ways in which particular groups--whether they be ethnically, culturally, or religiously motivated--define themselves as groups is through the generation and maintenance of boundaries that separate them from others. Such boundaries are necessarily social and are formed through the

identification and display of distinctive traits and qualities that bind the group together while at the same time marking it off as different. Shipps notes that "without boundaries to set them apart, without 'gentiles' to stand over and against, a chosen people cannot exist; their very identity depends on their perception of specialness; and that specialness, in turn, depends on their being separated in some way from that part of the population that is not special."[8] In developing her concept of Mormon "specialness," Shipps makes two points that are crucial for arriving at an understanding of Latter-day Saint housing practices. First, during the nineteenth century the boundaries separating Mormons from the outside world were corporately established and maintained. The church rather than the individual was responsible for differentiating Mormons from non-Mormons. Second, individual Saints gained entrance into this special, corporate community experientially rather than behaviorally. Converts were transformed into Saints, not by the conforming forces of town life, but through the experience itself of living in a manifest Zion.

In proclaiming themselves the restoration of Christ's primitive church to earth in the "Last Days," the Mormons severed their ties with "Babylon" and thereafter attempted to remain politically, economically, and socially "unspotted" by the Gentile world.[9] The Mormon "restoration" was more than the metaphorical announcment that the New Testament apostolic church had returned; it was, rather, the literal "restoration of all things"--the gathering of Israel, the ten tribes, the church with a prophet and apostolic priesthood, Solomon's temple, and perhaps most significantly for the purposes of setting the Mormons apart from other primitivist sects, the ancient patriarchal order of

marriage, or polygamy. Such signs that the Biblical Kingdom had been reintroduced to earth helped the Saints realize that their Zion in the west was in fact the Kingdom of God on earth. "Living in the Kingdom in the nineteenth century," Professor Shipps writes, "was the sign of citizenship in God's elect nation. Gentiles there were, but the community was a separated one, made special through the institution of the patriarchal order of marriage."[10]

Individual Saints established their place in this literal Zion through baptism and faith, but also through participating in the actual experience of the western migration and the building of the kingdom. The Mormon trek into the wilderness recalled the Exodus of Old Testament tradition and was an event shared by all converts during the pioneering period. Whether they walked with the initial companies from Nauvoo or came later from England and Scandinavia, the early Saints, by this act, entered Zion physically, emotionally, and spiritually. Again, following Professor Shipps:

> At the deepest level, the journey of the Saints from Nauvoo to the Great Basin was part of a complicated recapitulation process wherein the Latter-day Saints lived through the history of the Hebrews. Historical accounts of the corporate movement of the Saints from Illinois to the Great Salt Lake Valley are rarely written without mentioning that the Saints who followed Young westward resolved themselves into a Camp of Israel, organized into companies in the same manner as the ancient Israelites had been organized during their journey from Egypt to the Promised Land in Palestine.[11]

The Exodus experience, then, was fundamental in defining "Mormoness" in the nineteenth century. That is, one's identity as a good and faithful Latter-day Saint was embodied in the act of personally living through the dramatic events of Mormon history--the expulsion from Nauvoo, the migration to Utah, and finally, the task of preparing the earth for the

Second Coming. Upon these shared, group-oriented experiences, individual Mormons fashioned their relationships with their fellow Saints and the larger world. It was such acts that changed converts into Saints, for as Shipps points out, "traveling to Zion and living in that land in the pioneer days were transformative experiences. They served as passageways ushering individuals into Sainthood and as experiential corridors in which the Saints were corporately transmuted from their miscellaneousness and variableness into an ethnic body whose shared heritage was a wilderness journey and lives lived out in Zion."[12]

It is not surprising that in the Sanpete Valley the most obvious signs of the literal Zion are the overtly corporate features of the landscape. The temple on the hill above Manti, the nucleated towns, the centrally-placed ward meeting houses--such features project the image of Zion outward toward the Gentile world. These are the comfortable, predicatable symbols of the collective spirit that shaped the valley's natural beauty to its needs. The overt orthodoxy of the Mormon landscape hides another, less discernible, but equally important display of kingdom building in the valley, namely, the houses. The expected uniformity of domestic architecture is noticeably absent, replaced by a tenacious individuality of design. Yet the houses, in their diversity, become more than monuments to personal achievement; they reflect an social world that was secure in the contemplation of its vision. With the boundaries of Zion clearly defined and maintained by the church itself, individual displays of group affiliation were unnecessary.

In his provocative study of folk housing in Piedmont Virginia, Henry Glassie described an architecture in transition. Eighteenth century

Virginia was in the throes of political revolution, the tobacco-based economy was faltering, people were experiencing both social and spatial alienation. From the midst of this turmoil emerged a housing tradition that was increasingly in control. Virginia folk housing in the late-eighteenth century became repetitive and generic. As individualism increased, personal expression in houses became more circumscribed. Glassie concluded that "in the Anglo-American world of the eighteenth century the farther people were apart, the more alike their architecture became."[13]

The folk architectural tradition that Glassie found rising from the social chaos of Colonial Virginia provides an important and telling contrast to that found in the Sanpete Valley. Virginia builders, fearing change and finding themselves responsible for determining their own place in the world, chose an architecture of repetition and uniformity. Community in this case was expressed through an adherence to a common architectural form. Mormon carpenters, on the other hand, their world ordered and their social boundaries firmly established by their church membership, labored diligently on their temple but worked within a design tradition that was open and expansive. The diversity of the Sanpete Valley folk architectural tradition is, therefore, not surprising nor un-Mormonlike. It reflects the strong sense of community and purpose that characterized the Building of Zion.

In 1854, Hans Jensen Hals could be pleased with his accomplishments. Along with a fellow Danish immigrant to the Sanpete Valley, Christian Kjarault, Hals had built a house of rock and gathered together furnishings. He had constructed a barn to shelter his animals and a granary to protect his seeds. Chosen to work with the Danish

church organization, he had gained experience and influence among his people. As he looked back with pride he wrote, "I was happy to do good for the upbuilding of the Kingdom in Manti."

Chapter VII

Notes

1. Pitman, "Folk Housing in the Mormon Culture region," xiv-xv.

2. For recent works dealing with the fundamental contradictions between Mormon rhetoric and reality, see Arrington, Fox, and May, Building the City of God, 135-154; Michael Scott Raber, "Religious Polity and Local Production: the Origins of a Mormon Town" (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1977), Richard Jackson, "Mother Tongue and the Latter-day Saints in the United States, 1850-1983," paper delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Mormon History Association, Omaha, Nebraska, May 1983; and Janet L. Dolgin, "Latter-day Sense and Substance," in Religious Movements in Contemporary America, ed. by Irving R. Zeretsky and Mark P. Leone (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), 519-546.

3. See Glassie, "Structure and Function," 333-395.

4. Arrington, Fox, and May, Building the City of God, 2-3

5. Jules David Prown, "Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method," Winterthur Portfolio, 17:1 (Spring 1982): 1.

6. See Jan Shipps, "In the Presence of the Past: Continuity and Change in Twentieth-Century Mormonism," in After 150 Years: The Latter-day Saints in Sesquicentennial Perspective, Charles Redd Monographs in Western History, 13, ed. by Thomas G. Alexander and Jessie L. Embry (Provo: Charles Redd Center, 1983), 1-36; "Brigham Young and His Times: A Continuing Force in Mormonism," Journal of the West, 23:1 (January 1984): 48-54; and Mormonism: A New Religious Tradition (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, forthcoming).

7. Fredrik Barth, Ethnic Groups and Boundaries (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1968), 9-25.

8. Shipps, "Continuity and Change," 11-12.

9. See Arrington, Great Basin Kingdom, 195-236.

10. Shipps, "Continuity and Change," 23-24.

11. Shipps, "Brigham Young," 51-52.

12. Ibid., 53.

13. Glassie, Folk Housing in Middle Virignia, 182, Chapter VIII.

12. Han Jensen Hals, diary, LDS Church Archives.

Appendix I
Folk Housing Field Survey

1. Chester

Site #	#Survey #	Description
1.1	SP-03-08	1 story, frame, pair house IIB, end chimney
1.2	SP-03-11	1 story, frame, single cell, end chimney.
1.3		1 1/2 story, stone, single cell, end chimney.

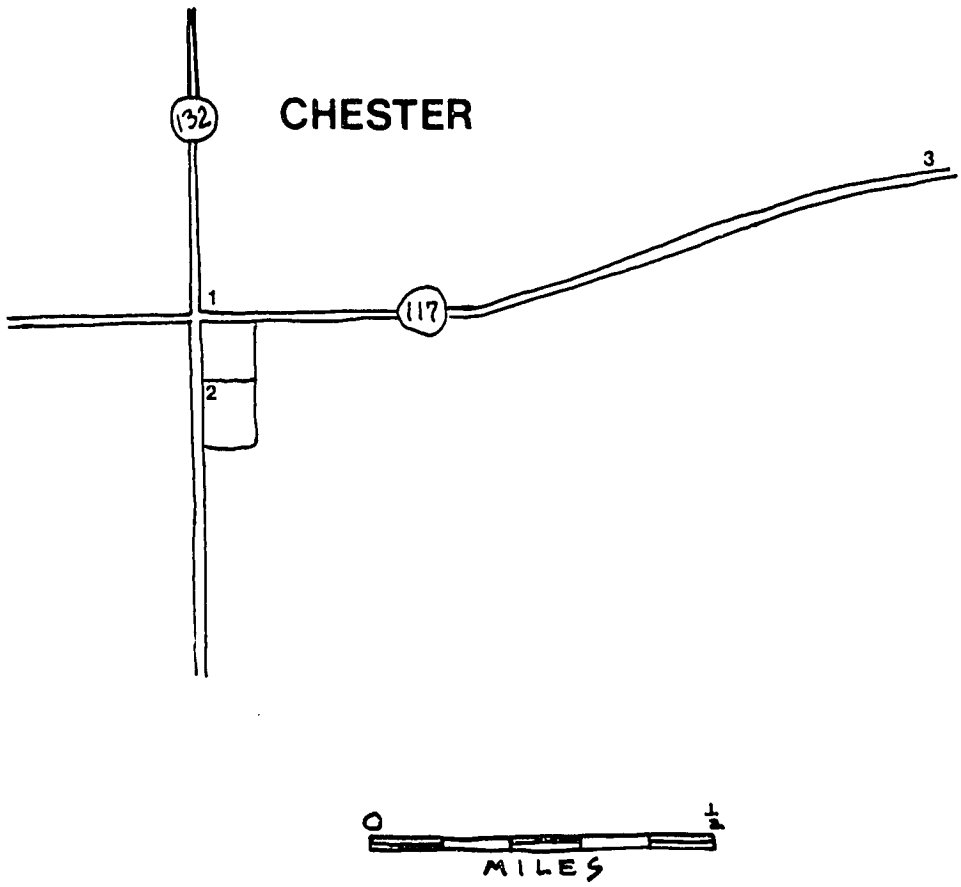


Figure 168: Map of Chester

Ephraim

Site #	Survey #	Description
2.1	SP-06-583	1 story, log, hall-parlor, internal chimney
2.2	SP-06-561	1 story, adobe, temple form, end chimney
2.3	SP-06-555	1 story, adobe, pair house IVA, internal chimney
2.4	SP-06-02	1 story, adobe, hall-parlor, end chimneys
2.5*	SP-06-08	1 1/2 story, adobe/plastered, hall-parlor, internal chimney
2.6	SP-06-14	1 1/2 story, stone/plastered, pair house I, internal chimneys
2.7*	SP-06-31	1 1/2 story, adobe/plastered, pair house II, end chimneys
2.8	SP-06-27	1 story, adobe/plastered, hall-parlor, internal chimney
2.9*	SP-06-39	2 story, stone/plastered, central passage--double pile, internal and end chimneys
2.10	SP-06-56	Log granary, tongue notch corner-timbering
2.11	SP-06-58	1 1/2 story, brick/plastered, pair house II, internal chimneys
2.12	SP-06-82	1 story, adobe, hall-parlor/brick single cell added, internal chimney
2.13	SP-06-80	1 1/2 story, adobe/plastered, cross wing, internal chimney and log granary, double notch corner-timbering
2.14*	SP-06-86	1 story, stone, pair house IV, internal chimneys
2.15	SP-06-87	log granary, tongue notch corner-timbering
2.16	SP-06-89	1 story, adobe/plastered, hall-parlor/irregular, internal chimneys
2.17	SP-06-105	2 story, stone, cross wing, internal and end chimneys
2.18	SP-06-132	1 1/2 story, frame, pair house II, internal chimneys
2.19	SP-06-137	log granary, double notch corner timbering
2.20	SP-06-138	log granary, tongue notch corner timbering
2.21	SP-06-595	1 story, adobe and stone/plastered, pair house IV, internal chimneys

Site #	Survey #	Description
2.22	SP-06-149	1 1/2 story, brick, central passage, internal chimneys
2.23	SP-06-182	1 1/2 story, stone, pair house IIA, end chimneys
2.24	SP-06-190	1 1/2 story, stone, pair house II, end chimneys
2.25	SP-06-194	1 story, adobe/plastered/ pair house III, internal chimneys
2.26	SP-06-218	1 story, stone, pair house II, internal and end chimneys
2.27	SP-06-216	1 1/2 story, adobe/plastered, pair house II, internal chimneys
2.28	SP-06-225	1 1/2 story, adobe/plastered, pair house I, internal chimneys
2.29	SP-06-258	1 1/2 story, adobe/plastered, hall-parlor, end chimneys
2.30	SP-06-273	1 1/2 story, brick, temple form, internal chimney
2.31	SP-06-274	1 1/2 story, stone/plastered, central passage, end and internal chimneys
2.32	SP-06-295	2 story, brick, central passage-double pile, end chimneys
2.33	SP-06-297	1 1/2 story, adobe/siding, cross wing, end chimneys
2.34	SP-06-308	1 1/2 story, adobe/plastered, hall-parlor-double pile, end chimneys
2.35	SP-06-596	1 1/2 story, adobe/plastered/ hall-parlor, internal chimneys
2.36	SP-06-324	1 story, adobe/siding, (two-third's central passage, internal chimney.
2.37	SP-06-331	1 1/2 story, adobe/plastered, pair house IIB, internal chimneys
2.38	SP-06-352	1 story, stone/plastered, pair house IIA, end chimney
2.39	SP-06-373	1 1/2 story, adobe/plastered, pair house III, internal chimneys
2.40	SP-06-371	1 story, stone, hall-parlor, internal chimney
2.41	SP-06-367	1 1/2 story, adobe/plastered, hall-parlor-double pile, internal chimney
2.42	SP-06-387	1 1/2 story, stone, pair house II, end chimneys
2.43	SP-06-384	1 story, adobe/plastered, pair house II, end chimneys
2.44	SP-06-401	1 1/2 story, stone, central passageway, end chimneys

Site #	Survey #	Description
2.45	SP-06-395	1 story, adobe/plastered, pair house IIA, internal chimney
2.46	SP-06-396	log granary, tongue notch corner timbering
2.48*	SP-06-423	1 story, stone, hall-parlor, end chimneys
2.49	SP-06-432	1 story, adobe/plastered, pair house II, internal chimney
2.50*	SP-06-455	1 story, adobe/plastered, hall-parlor, end chimneys
2.51	SP-06-448	1 story, stone, pair house II, end chimneys

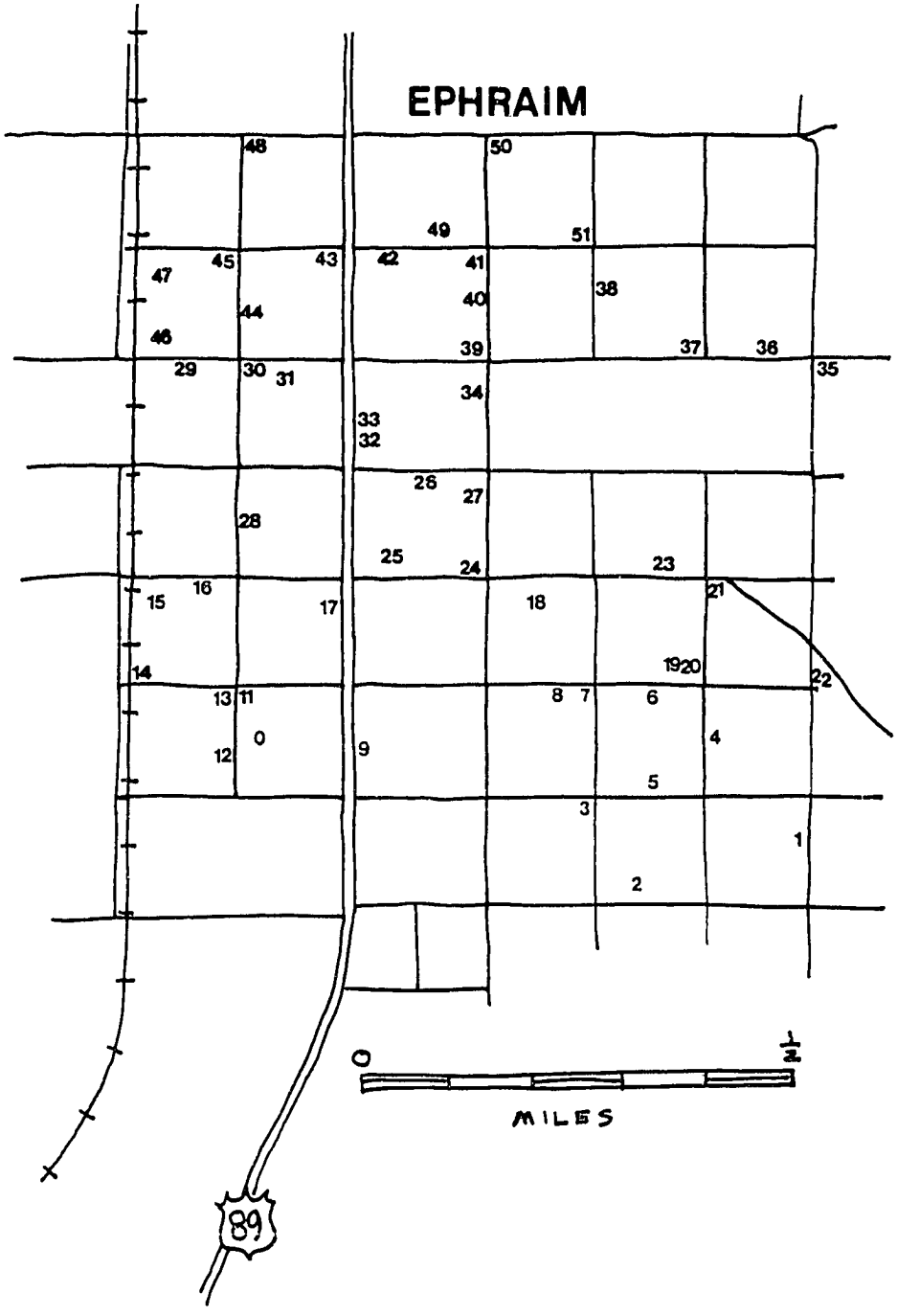


Figure 169: Map of Ephraim

Fairview

Site #	Survey #	Description
3.1	SP-07-06	1 1/2 story, adobe, single cell, end chimney
3.2	SP-07-22	1 1/2 story, stone, hall-parlor, end chimneys
3.3	SP-07-25	2 story, frame, central passage, gable chimneys
3.4	SP-07-93	1 1/2 story, stone/plastered, single cell, end chimney
3.5	SP-07-95	2 story, stone, hall-parlor, end chimneys
3.6	SP-07-105	1 1/2 story, adobe, temple form, internal chimney
3.7	SP-07-107	1 1/2 story, stone, cross wing, internal chimneys
3.8	SP-07-124	1 story, adobe/plastered, irregular rectangular cabin, end chimneys
3.9	SP-07-140	2 story, adobe, hall-parlor, end chimneys
3.10	SP-07-141	1 1/2 story, brick, central passage, internal chimneys
3.11	SP-07-52	log barn, full dovetail corner-timbering
3.12	SP-07-300	1 1/2 story, brick, single cell, end chimney
3.13		1 1/2 story, log, hall-parlor, internal chimney, full dovetail corner-timbering
3.14		1 1/2 story, stone, hall-parlor, end chimneys

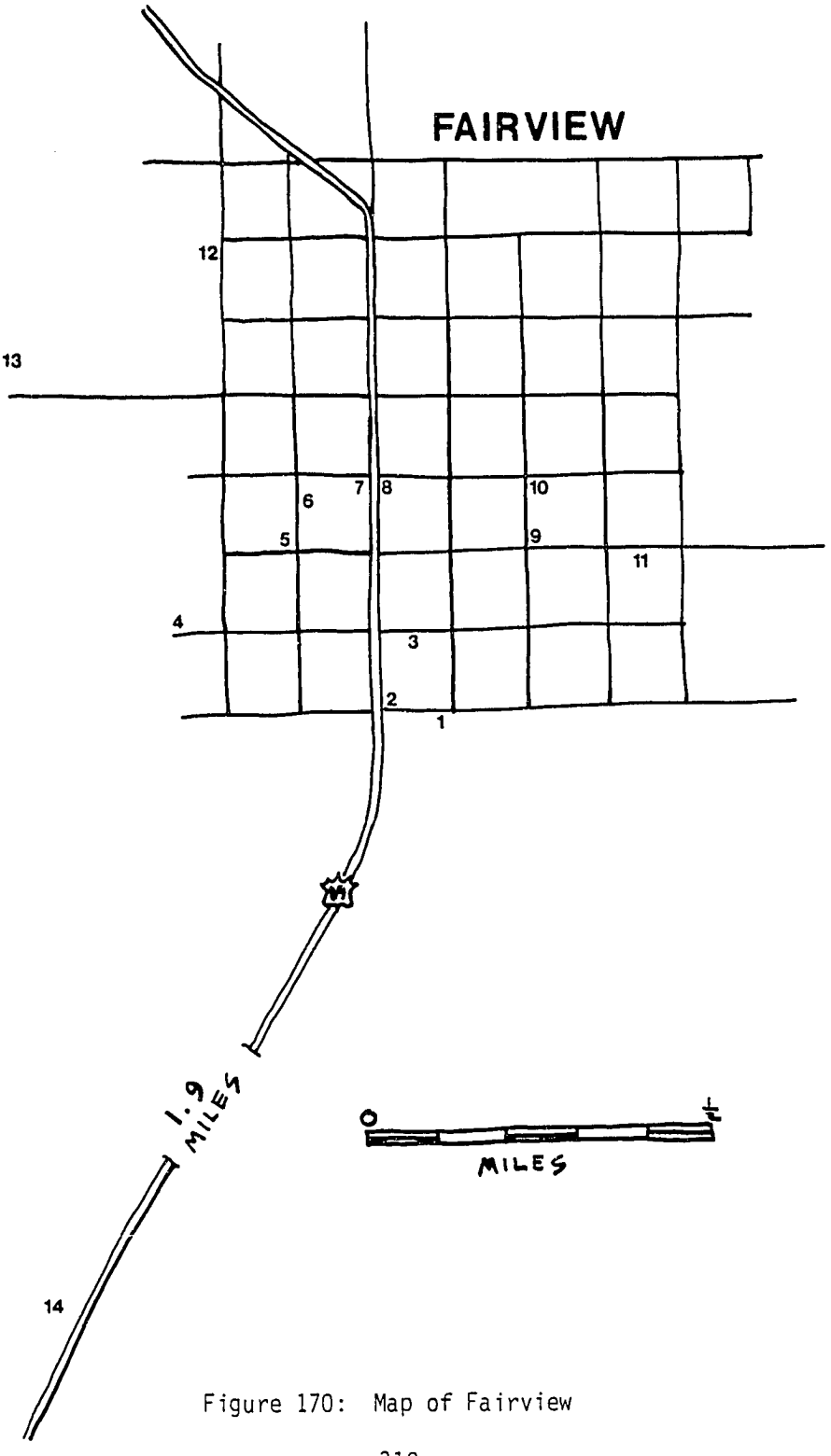


Figure 170: Map of Fairview

Fountain Green

Site #	Survey #	Description
4.1		1 1/2 story, brick, hall-parlor, internal chimney
4.2	SP-09-25	1 1/2 story, brick, pairhouse II, internal chimneys
4.3	SP-09-29	1 1/2 story, brick/plastered, cross wing, internal chimneys
4.4	SP-09-36	2 story, brick/plastered, double cell, internal chimney
4.5	SP-09-120	1 story, adobe, single cell, end chimney
4.6	SP-09-64	frame barn
4.7	SP-09-141	1 story, brick, single cell/cross wing added, end chimney
4.8	SP-09-151	2 story, brick/plastered, double cell, end chimneys
4.9	SP-09-155	2 story, brick, central passage, end chimneys
4.10	SP-09-168	1 1/2 story, frame, rectangular cabin, end chimney
4.11	SP-09-184	1 story, brick, rectangular cabin, internal chimneys
4.12	SP-09-204	1 1/2 story, brick, hall-parlor, end chimneys
4.13		1 story, brick, cross wing, internal chimneys

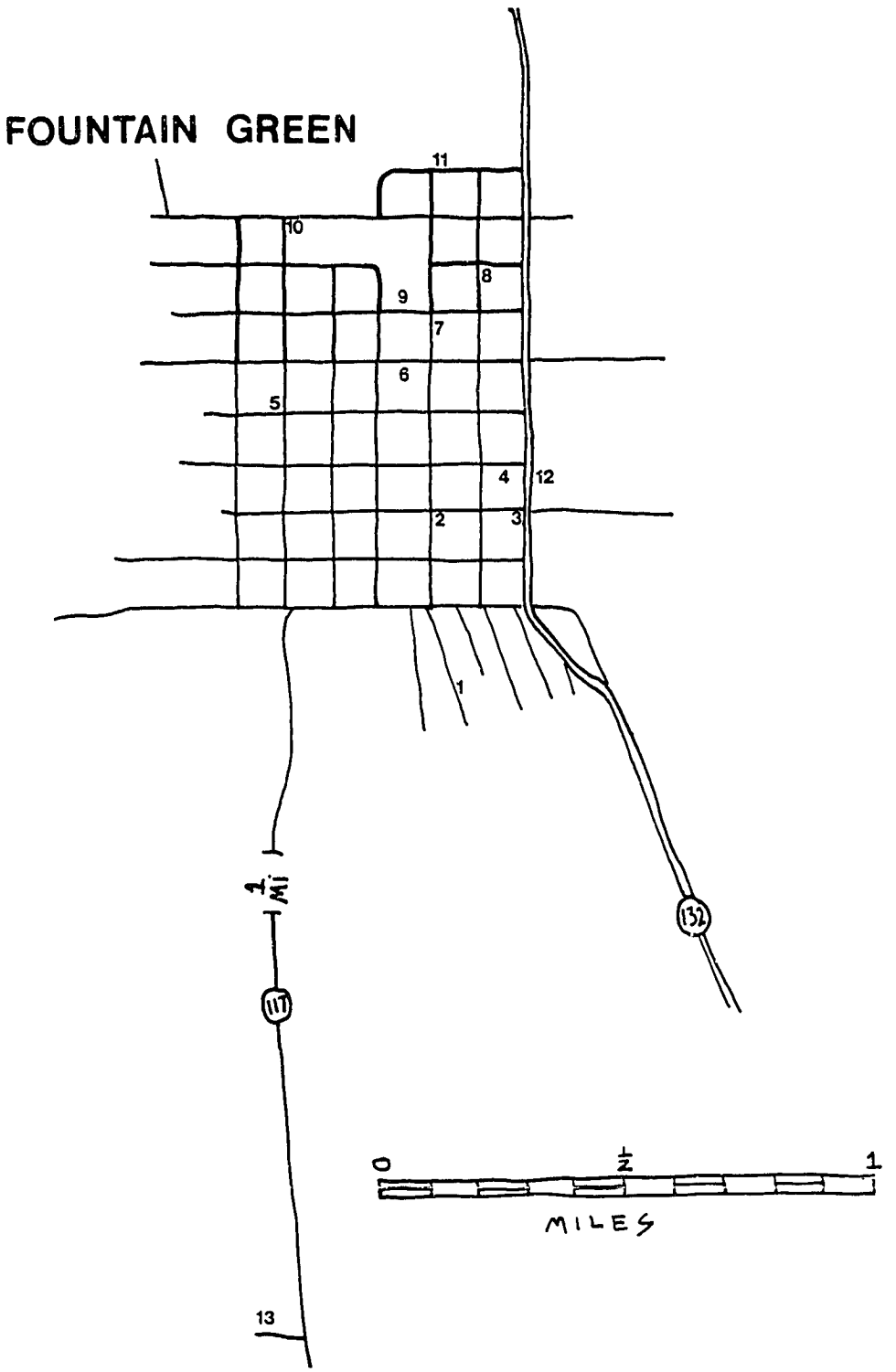


Figure 171: Map of Fountain Green

Manti Survey

Site #	Survey #	Description
5-1	SP-13-11	1 story, adobe, single cell, end chimney
5-2	SP-13-8	1 1/2 story, brick/plastered, extended hall-parlor, end chimneys
5-3	SP-13-19	1 1/2 story, brick, two-thirds central passage, internal chimney
5-4	SP-13-45	1 story, stone, rectangular cabin, end chimneys
5-5	SP-13-117	1 1/2 story, adobe/plastered, hall-parlor, end chimneys
5-6	SP-13-99	1 1/2 story, stone, extended hall-parlor, end chimney
5-7	SP-13-94	1 1/2 story, adobe, temple form, end chimney
5-8	SP-13-81	1 1/2 story, brick, central passage, internal chimneys
5-9	SP-13-84	1 story, adobe/plastered, double cell, internal chimney
5-10	SP-13-806	1 story, adobe/plastered/, double cell, internal chimney
5-11	SP-13-796	1 1/2 story, adobe/plastered, central passage, internal chimneys
5-12	SP-13-791	1 story, adoble, single cell, end chimney
5-13	SP-13-790	1 story, adobe/plastered, single cell/single cell added, end chimney
5-14	SP-13-194	1 story, brick, pair house IIA, internal chimneys
5-15	SP-13-195	1 1/2 story, brick, double cell, end chimneys
5-16	SP-13-185	1 1/2 story, stone, central passage, end chimneys
5-17	SP-13-164	2 story, stone, hall-parlor, end chimneys
5-18	SP-13-167	1 story, stone/plastered, pair house IVA, end chimneys
5-19	SP-13-155	1 story, stone/plastered, pair house I, end and internal chimneys
5-20	SP-13-277	1 1/2 story, brick, hall-parlor, end chimneys
5-21	SP-13-278	1 1/2 story, adobe, temple form, end chimneys
5-22	SP-13-259	1 1/2 story, brick, central passage, internal chimneys

Site #	Survey #	Description
5-23	SP-13-260	1 story, stone, extended hall-parlor, end chimneys
5-24	SP-13-247	1 story, stone, double-parlor, end chimneys
5-25	SP-13-314	1 1/2 story, stone, cross wing, internal chimneys
5-26	SP-13-301	1 1/2 story, brick, hall-parlor, end chimneys
5-27	SP-13-299	1 1/2 story, stone, hall-parlor, end chimneys
5-28	SP-13-443	1 1/2 story, stone, hall-parlor, end chimneys
5-29	SP-13-433	1 1/2 story, stone, extended hall-parlor, end chimneys
5-30	SP-13-436	1 1/2 story, stone, extended hall-parlor, end chimneys
5-31	SP-13-426	2 story, stone, double cell, end chimneys
5-31	SP-13-422	1 1/2 story, stone, extended hall-parlor, end chimneys
5-32	SP-13-412	2 story, stone, central passage-double pile, end chimneys
5-33	SP-13-411	1 story, stone/plastered, temple form, end chimney
5-34	SP-13-410	2 story, stone, double cell, end chimneys
5-35	SP-13-405	1 1/2 story, adobe, temple form, internal chimney
5-36	SP-13-378	1 1/2 story, stone, double cell, internal chimney
5-37	SP-13-502	1 1/2 story, frame, double cross wing, internal chimneys
5-38	SP-13-497	1 story, stone, single cell/cross wing added, end chimneys
5-39	SP-13-492	1 1/2 story, stone, central passage, end chimneys
5-40	SP-13-486	1 1/2 story, frame, central passage, internal chimneys
5-42	SP-13-469	1 1/2 story, stone, cross wing, internal chimneys
5-43	SP-13-472	1 1/2 story, stone, hall-parlor, internal chimney
5-44	SP-13.589	2 story, stone, two-thirds central passage-double pile, end chimneys
5-45	SP-13-585	1 story stone, extended hall-parlor, end chimneys
5-46	SP-13-587	2 story, stone, hall-parlor, end chimneys
5-47	SP-13-578	1 1/2 story, stone, cross wing, end chimneys

5-48	SP-13-574	1 1/2 story, frame, hall-parlor, internal chimney
5-49	SP-13-560	1 story, adobe/plastered, temple form, internal chimney
5-50	SP-13-547	1 1/2 story, stone, hall-parlor, end chimneys
5-51	SP-13-520	1 story, stone, single cell/cross wing added, end chimneys
5-52	SP-13-647	2 story, stone, extended hall-parlor, end chimneys
5-53	SP-13-631	1 1/2 story, adobe, hall-parlor, end chimneys
5-54	SP-13-622	1 story, adobe, temple form, internal chimney
5-55	SP-13-625	1 1/2 story, stone, hall-parlor, end chimneys
5-56	SP-13-618	1 1/2 story, stone, two-thirds central passage, end chimney
5-57	SP-13-610	1 1/2 story, stone, extended hall-parlor, end chimneys
5-58	SP-13-616	1 1/2 story, stone and adobe, hall-parlor, end chimneys
5-59	SP-13-601	1 1/2 story, adobe/plastered, single cell, end chimney
5-60	SP-13-703	1 1/2 story, stone, single cell, end chimney
5-61	SP-13-687	1 1/2 story, stone/plastered, temple form, internal chimneys
5-62	SP-13-733	1 story, stone/plastered, pair house II, internal chimney

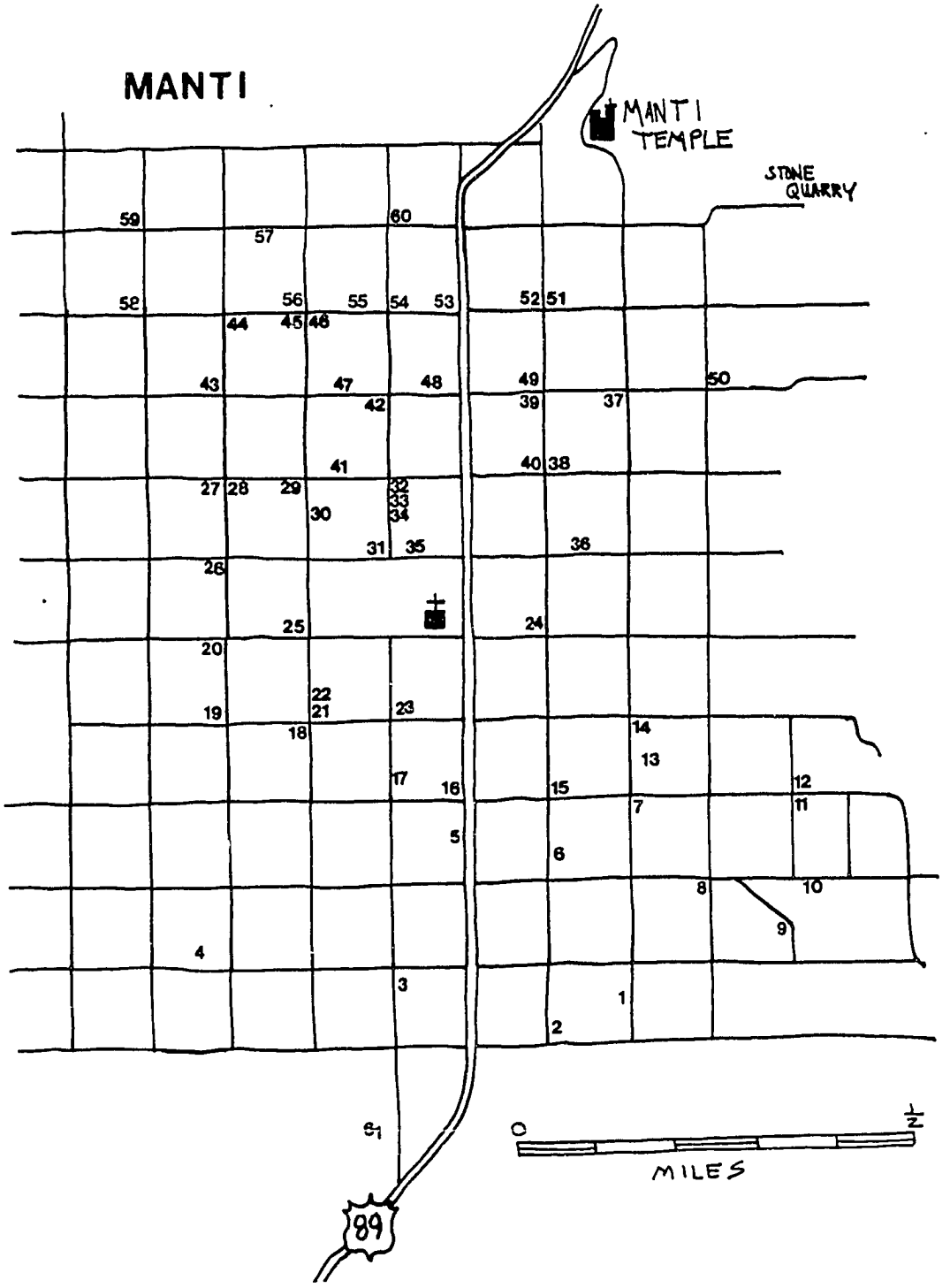


Figure 172: Map of Manti

Moroni Survey

Site #	Survey #	Description
6-1	SP-15-01	1 story, brick and adobe, rectangular cabin/single cell added, end chimneys
6-2	SP-15-05	1 1/2 story, brick/sided, central passage, end chimneys
6-3	SP-15-07	1 1/2 story, brick, hall-parlor, internal chimney
6-4	SP-15-20	2 story, adobe, double parlor, internal chimneys
6-5	SP-15-21	1 story, adobe, single cell-double pile, internal chimney
6-6	SP-15-59	1 story, log, rectangular cabin, end chimney
6-7	SP-15-111	2 1/2 story, brick, central passage, end chimneys
6-8	SP-15-139	2 story, stone/sided, pair house, IIA, internal chimneys
6-9	SP-14-140	1 1/2 story, brick, cross wing, internal chimneys
6-10	SP-15-227	2 story, brick, extended hall-parlor, end chimneys

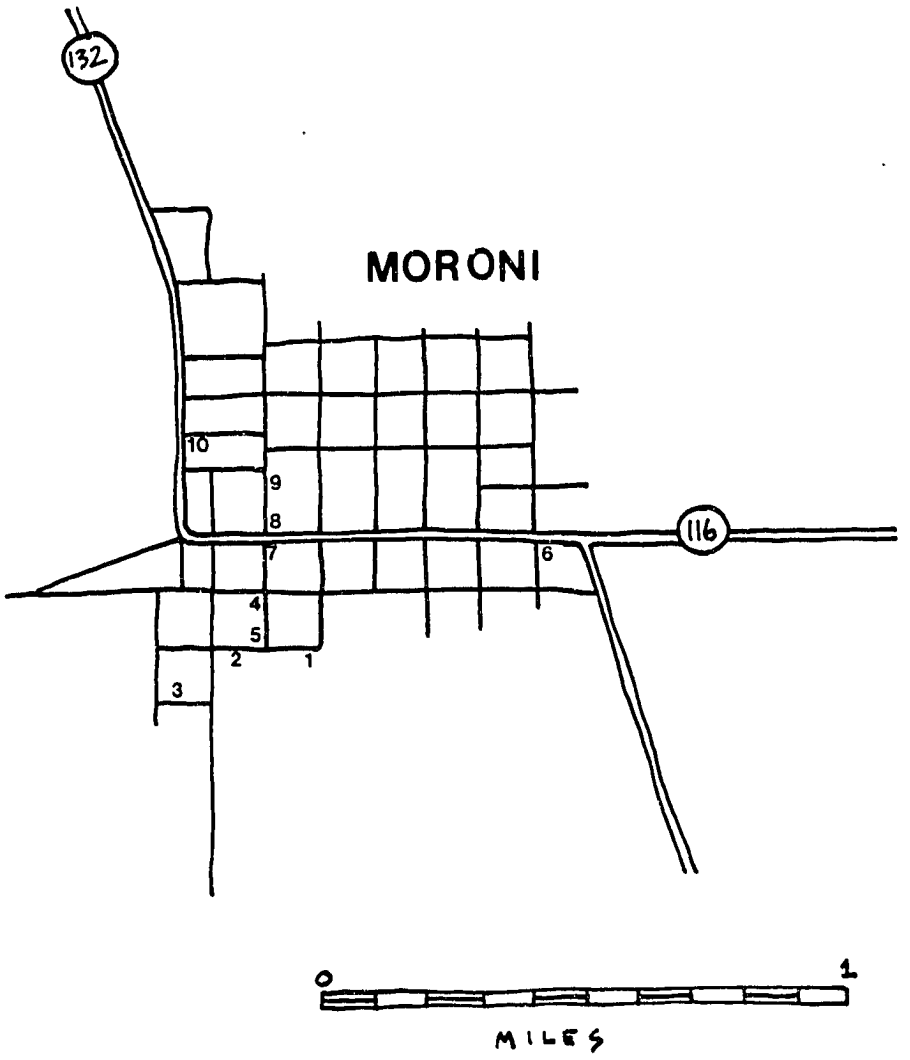


Figure 173: Map of Moroni

Mount Pleasant Survey

Site #	Survey #	Description
7-1	SP-16-12	1 1/2 story, frame, rectangular cabin, end chimneys
7-2	SP-16-60	1 1/2 story, brick, central passage, end chimneys
7-3	SP-16-89	1 story, adobe, single cell, end chimney
7-4	SP-16-137	1 1/2 story, adobe/plastered, pair house IV, end chimneys
7-5	SP-16-199	1 1/2 story, brick, two-thirds central passage, end chimneys
7-6	SP-16-222	1 1/2 story, adobe/plastered, pair house IV, internal chimneys
7-7	SP-16-300	2 story, brick, extended hall-parlor, end chimneys
7-8	SP-16-365	1 1/2 story, frame, cruciform cross wing, end chimneys
7-9	SP-16-370	1 1/2 story, frame, single cell, end chimney
7-10	SP-16-374	1 1/2 story, adobe/plastered, end chimneys
7-11	SP-16-392	1 1/2 story, adobe, cruciform cross wing, end chimneys
7-12	SP-16-423	1 story, adobe/plastered, rectangular cabin-double pile, internal chimney
7-13	SP-16-424	1 story, adobe/plastered, rectangular cabin/single cell added, end chimneys
7-14		1 story, adobe, hall-parlor, end chimneys
7-15	SP-16-444	1 1/2 story, adobe/plastered, pair house I, end chimneys
7-16	SP-16-455	1 1/2 story, frame, cruciform cross wing, internal chimneys
7-17	SP-16-479	1 story, adobe/plastered, pair house II, end chimneys
7-18	SP-16-496	2 story, brick, central passage, internal chimneys
7-19	SP-16-500	1 1/2 story, adobe/plastered, pair house II, internal chimneys
7-20	SP-16-506	1 story, adobe/plastered, rectangular cabin, end chimneys
7-21	SP-16-507	1 story, adobe/plastered, cross wing, internal chimney
7-22		2 story, frame, central passage, end chimneys

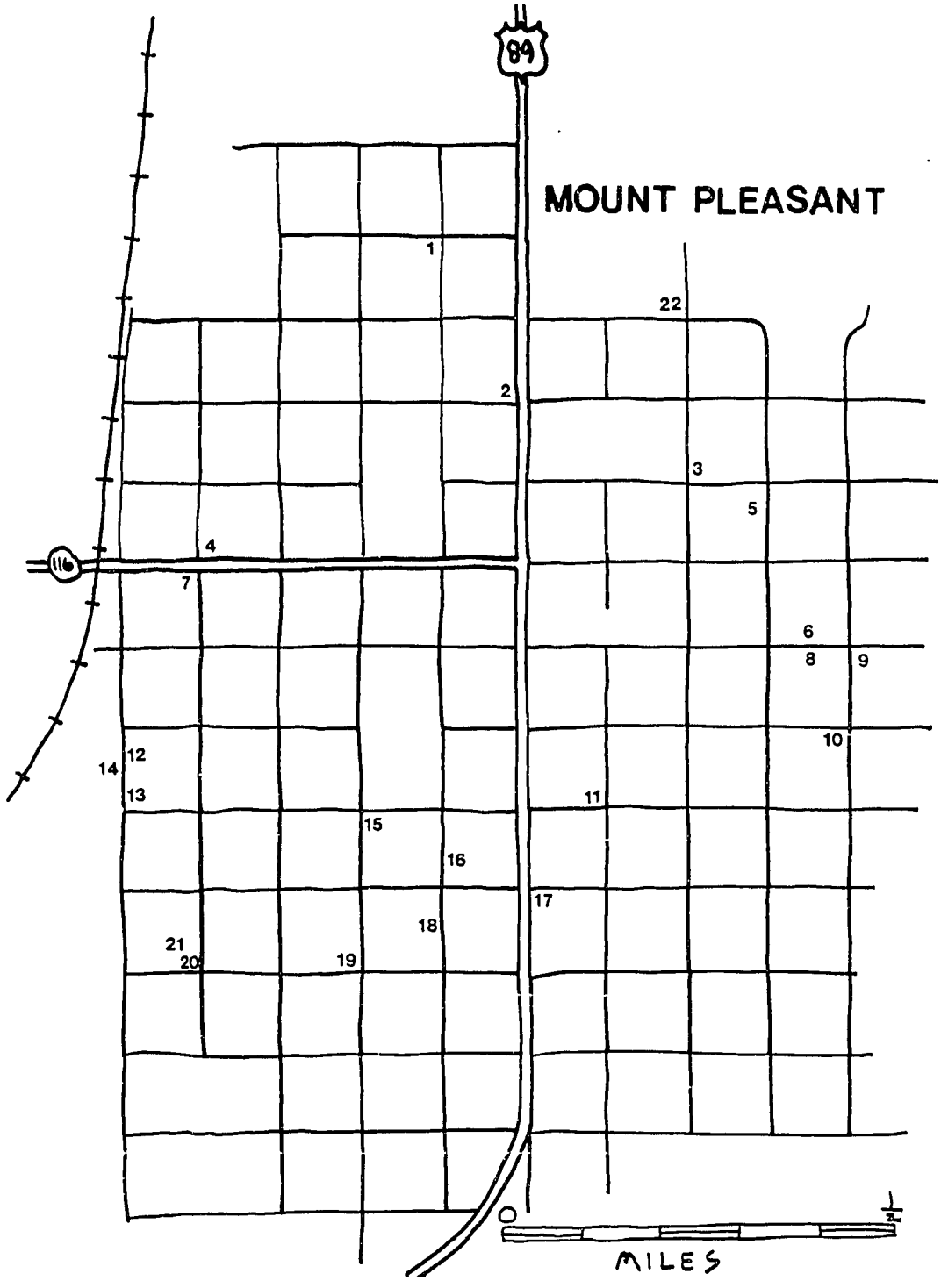


Figure 174: Map of Mount Pleasant

Spring City Survey

Site #	Survey ##	Description
8-1	SP-17-01	1 1/2 story, stone, hall-parlor, internal chimney
8-2	SP-17-08	1 story, adobe/plastered, double cell, end chimneys
8-3	SP-17-12	1 story, stone, rectangular cabin, end chimneys
8-4	SP-17-23	1 story, stone, hall-parlor, internal chimney
8-5	SP-17-19	1 story, adobe, central passage-double pile, end chimneys
8-6	SP-17-291	1 story, adobe/plastered, double cell-double pile, end chimneys
8-7	SP-17-26	1 story, adobe, pair house II, internal chimneys
8-8	SP-17-27	1 story, adobe/plastered, hall-parlor, end chimneys
8-9	SP-17-24	2 story, stone/plastered, hall-parlor, end chimneys
8-10	SP-17-29	1 1/2 story, stone, rectangular cabin, end chimneys
8-11	SP-17-38	1 1/2 story, adobe/plastered, double cell, internal chimney
8-12	SP-17-40	1 1/2 story, adobe/plastered, rectangular cabin, end chimneys
8-13	SP-17-56	(two) 1 story, adobe, single cell, end chimneys
8-14	SP-17-65	1 story, adobe/plastered, double cell, end chimneys
8-15	SP-17-67	2 story, stone, extended hall-parlor, end chimneys
8-16	SP-17-69	1 1/2 story, brick, hall-parlor, end chimneys
8-17	SP-17-71	2 story, frame, central passage, end chimneys
8-18	SP-17-74	1 story, log, single cell, end chimney
8-19	SP-17-76	2 story, stone/plastered, hall-parlor, end chimneys
8-20	SP-17-86	1 1/2 story, stone, hall-parlor, end chimneys
8-21	SP-17-91	2 story, stone, extended hall-parlor house, end chimneys
8-22	SP-17-96	1 1/2 story, stone, hall-parlor, end chimneys
8-23	SP-17-107	1 1/2 story, brick, hall-parlor, end chimneys
8-24	SP-17-111	1 1/2 story, adobe/plastered, end chimneys

Site #	Survey #	Description
8-25	SP-17-122	1 1/2 story, brick, hall-parlor, end chimneys
8-26	SP-17-131	1 story, frame, rectangular cabin, internal chimney
8-27	SP-17-134	2 story, stone, hall-parlor, end chimneys
8-28	SP-17-138	1 1/2 story, adobe/plastered, extended hall-parlor, end chimneys
8-29	SP-17-145	1 1/2 story, stone, pair house II, internal chimneys
8-30	SP-17-150	1 1/2 story, stone/plastered, pair house II, internal chimneys
8-31	SP-17-245	1 story, adobe/plastered, hall-parlor, internal chimney
8-32	SP-17-161	stone granary
8-33	SP-17-163	1 story, adobe/plastered, hall-parlor, internal chimney
8-34	SP-17-162	1 1/2 story, brick, hall-parlor, end chimneys
8-35	SP-17-169	2 story, stone, hall-parlor, end chimneys
8-36	SP-17-169A	1 story, log, single cell, end chimney
8-37	SP-17-175	1 story, adobe/plastered, single cell/with single cell added, internal chimney
8-38	SP-17-182	frame hay barn.
8-39	SP-17-183	1 1/2 story, adobe/plastered, hall-parlor, internal chimney
8-40	SP-17-184	1 1/2 story, stone/sided, single cell, end chimney
8-41	SP-17-199	1 story adobe/plastered, double cell, end chimneys
8-42	SP-17-244	1 story, log, single cell, end chimney
8-43	SP-17-243	1 story, adobe/plastered, double cell, internal chimney
8-44	SP-17-203	1 story, log/adobe, double cell, internal chimney
8-45	SP-17-209	1 1/2 story, stone, extended hall-parlor, end chimneys
8-46	SP-17-216	1 story, stone, rectangular cabin, end chimneys
8-47	SP-17-218	1 story, stone, single cell, end chimney
8-48	SP-17-235	1 story, adobe, rectangular cabin, internal chimney
8-49	SP-17-275	1 1/2 story, stone, hall-parlor, end chimneys
8-50	SP-17-224	1 story, adobe/sided, rectangular cabin/irregular, internal chimney

Site #	Survey #	Description
8-51		1 story, adobe, hall-parlor, end chimneys
8-52		1 1/2 story, brick, hall-parlor, end chimneys
8-53		1 story, brick, single cell, end chimney
8-54		2 story, stone, hall-parlor, end chimneys

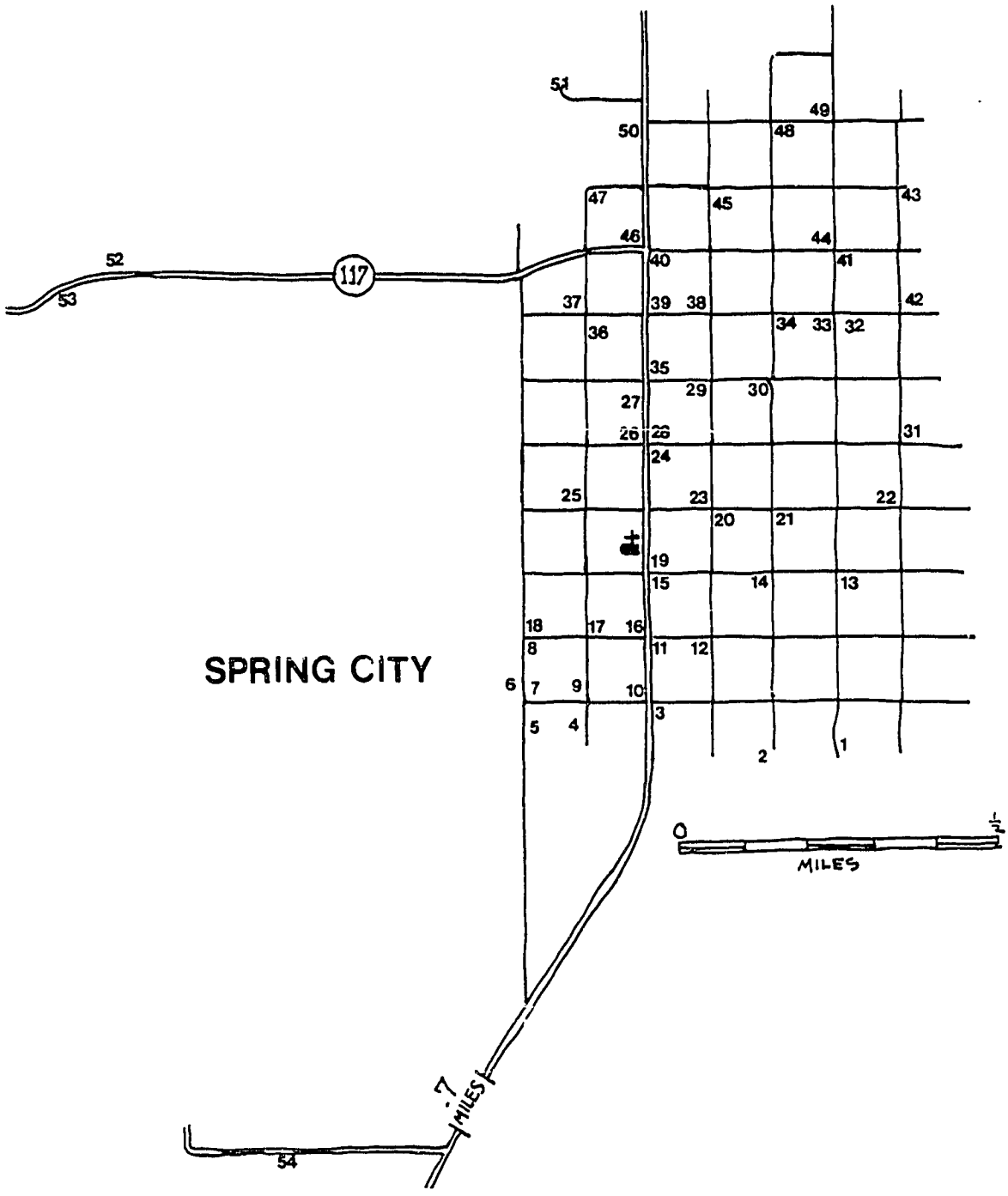


Figure 175: Map of Spring City

Sterling Survey

Site #	Survey #	Description
9-1	SP-18-30	1 story, adobe, single cell, end chimney
9-2	SP-18-31	1 1/2 story, stone, hall-parlor, end chimneys
9-3	SP-18-37	1 story, stone, single cell, internal chimney

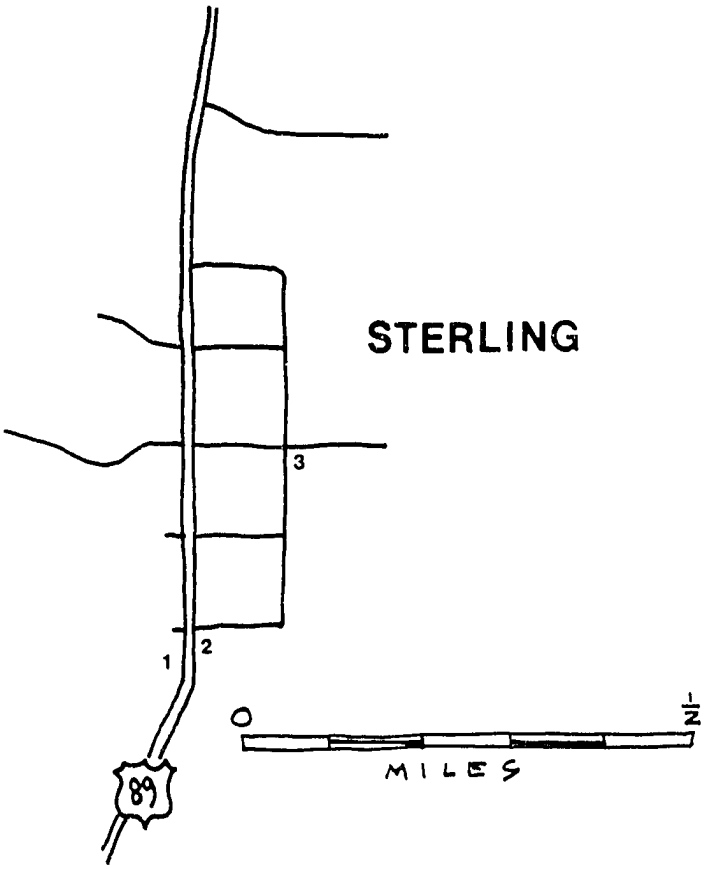


Figure 176: Map of Sterling

Wales Survey

Site #	Survey #	Description
10-1	SP-19-02	1 story, log, double cell, end chimneys
10-2	SP-19-12	1 1/2 story, brick, hall-parlor, end chimneys
10-3	SP-19-22	1 1/2 story, brick, hall-parlor, end chimneys
10-4	SP-19-20	log double-crib barn
10-5	SP-19-33	1 1/2 story, brick, cross wing, internal chimney
10-6	SP-19-37	1 1/2 story, brick, cross wing, internal chimneys
10-7	SP-19-60	1 1/2 story, adobe/plastered, rectangular cabin, end chimneys
10-8	SP-19-46	1 1/2 story, adobe/plastered, rectangular cabin, end chimneys
10-9	SP-19-36	1 1/2 story, brick, cross wing, internal chimneys
10-10	SP-19-30	1 1/2 story, frame/sided, single cell, end chimney

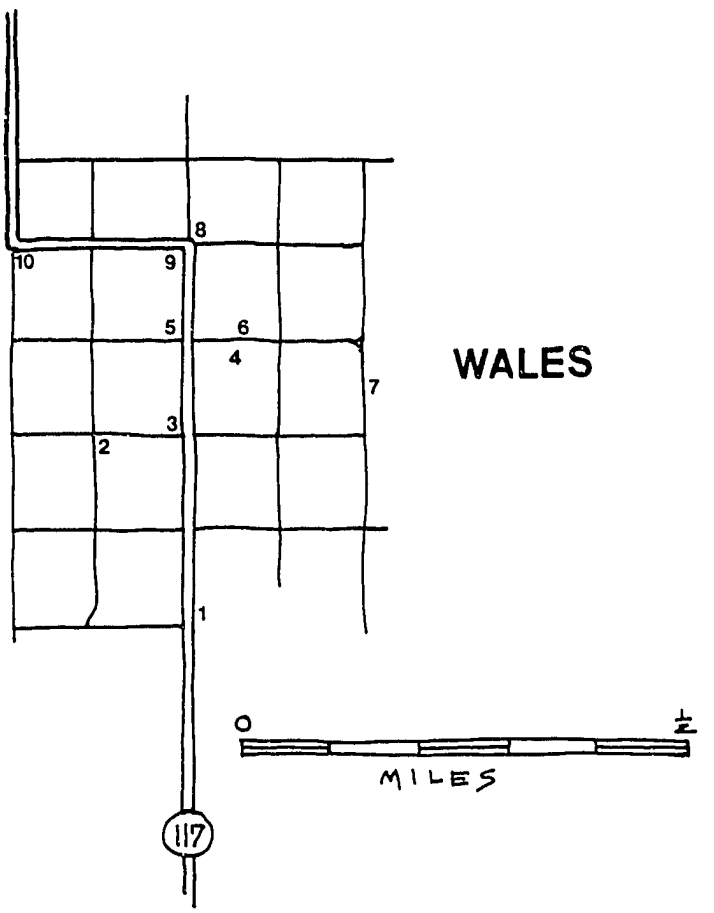


Figure 177: Map of Wales

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ABBREVIATIONS:

AAAG = Annals of the Association of American Geographers
JSAH = Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians
PA = Pioneer America
UHQ = Utah Historical Quarterly
WP = Winterthur Portfolio

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